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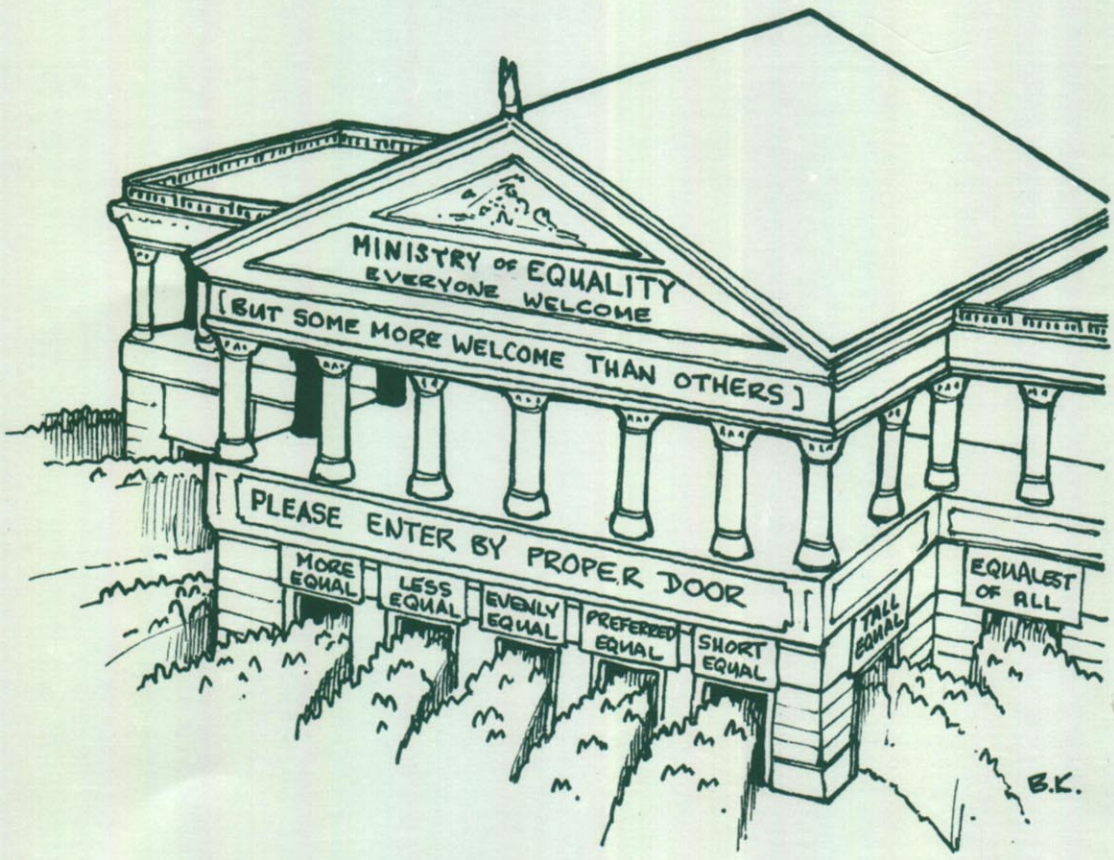
California Political Review

Bombing the Village to Save It

Quotas As a Cure For Discrimination

Flies in Amber
by Glynn Custred

Affirmative Action's Textbook Case
by Thomas Sowell



Also:

David Horowitz On
The Trouble With PBS

G. B. Tennyson's
Watched Words

How the Stalin-Hitler
Pact Played in Hollywood

Vol. 2, No. 1 *A Publication of the California Public Policy Foundation* Winter 1991

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Ending the Liberal Monopoly in California Journalism

Should liberals continue to straightjacket California's political debate? No matter its failures, the left's creaking, derelict statism still shapes every discussion — *for* big government "solutions," *for* continuous tax increases, *for* more bureaucratic control, *belittling* individual freedom, *maligning* individual responsibility. Liberalism's monopoly in California journalism is the cause. ***California Political Review*** is the cure. Add *your* name to the growing list of California conservative leaders reading *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State by focusing attention on both the conservative successes and liberal failures that the major media so rarely cover. In addition, the Review is forging new conservative coalitions in California and that makes it one of the most vital, important new endeavors around.

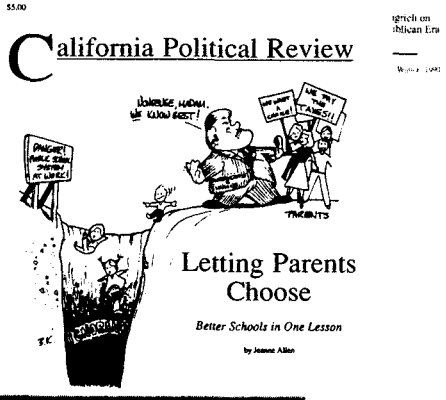
— Bruce Herschensohn

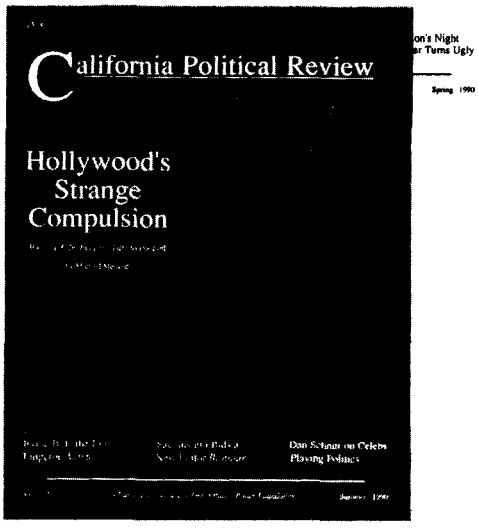
I have just seen the Summer 1990 issue of California Political Review, and I can't tell you how impressed I am with it. My congratulations and very best wishes.

— William A. Rusher

California Political Review will help ensure that all viewpoints are placed before the public.

— Hon. George Deukmejian





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Must reading for informed Conservatives

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California Political Review

Winter 1991

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A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

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Correspondence

Unable to Accept

Thank you for your solicitation for *California Political Review*, but I will be unable to accept. Mention was made that subscribers would be able to read about conservatives such as George Deukmejian, presumably a man that you feel is worth listening to. As a lifelong conservative, I vigorously supported Deukmejian's efforts to attain the California governorship. I then watched in horror as he and other California conservatives played decisive roles in enacting anti-gun legislation such as the Roos/Roberti "assault weapon" scam and the Connolly bill.

I won't go on, as I think I've made my point and I doubt you even care. I simply fail to see any worth in following the pronouncements of such a well-known turncoat.

René A. Menoni, Jr.
Santa Barbara

Mr. Menoni's credentials as a lifelong conservative are in good order: he's plainly mastered the standard preference for attacking our own. At the risk of stating the obvious: political victory in a democracy comes by building coalitions of people who disagree about many things but who work together to achieve particular shared objectives. The leftists who beat Robert Bork knew this; it's a lesson conservatives should learn. Some issues will always divide our coalition, but it is the business of our opponents, not ourselves, to salt these wounds. Mr. Menoni has gained momentary satisfaction by parading his frustration, but it is the satisfaction of a loser, not to be advocated to people who take their political convictions seriously enough to want to win.
Editor

California in the '90s

With the doubtful exception of L. P. Arnn, it looks like you didn't invite any women to comment on the November election ("Reflections on California in the '90s," *CPR*, Fall 1990). With places for 16 comments, I'm sure you could have found a few politically correct (from your standpoint), literate women to write on this subject. In fact, of 21 writers in your whole issue, only one woman author is credited and her article was not written specifically for your magazine.

"Conservative" doesn't have to mean 18th century. Get up to date!

Judy Black
Hollywood

Miss Black would have us select our contributors by gender to free ourselves from what she apparently believes is our attachment to the 18th century when, she further seems to believe, women were never published. Since we are encouraged to "get up to date," it seems she does not consider irrational attachments to historical periods bad per se, *only to historical periods no longer fashionable.*

Presumably, Miss Black set out to discourage judging by sex and date, and yet ended up pressing us to do both. In this regard, she is certainly up to date herself. Her letter has nothing to say about the truthfulness or wisdom of anything our 21 writers said. Questions of truth are not for this age, only points of fashion. We founded California Political Review *for people interested in thinking honestly about ideas. The newsstands are full of publications whose sole concern is never to fall out of fashion. While we thank Miss Black for going to the trouble of passing on her recommendations,* CPR *will retain its distinguishing purpose.*
Editor

In response to "Reflections on California in the '90s," I would like to say that Californians have been consuming far more than they have been producing the last 15 to 20 years. This "undertaxing" is reflected in the state's deteriorating infrastructure — particularly in education. In 20 years we have gone from the top state in public education to close to the bottom (in fact the absolute bottom in terms of percentage of gross income spent).

The Prop. 13 Syndrome continued into the 1990 election. Neither Feinstein nor Wilson would dare come out for new taxes, especially not for a reversal of Prop. 13. The "pull up the ladder" (I've got mine) attitude was particularly evident in

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California Political Review

A publication of the California Public Policy Foundation

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California Chronicles

John Gurley, editor

California Chronicles reports on current activities and projects of conservative leaders and organizations around the Golden State.

National Association of Scholars

Politicized Higher Education

The National Association of Scholars now has an affiliate here, the California Association of Scholars, with more than 150 members at campuses around the Golden State and three fully established chapters at: the University of California, Berkeley, San Francisco State University, and Stanford. The National Association of Scholars, according to its informational pamphlet, "is an organization of professors, graduate students, and college administrators committed to rational discourse as the foundation of academic life in a free and democratic society." These objectives, of course, put NAS on a collision course with the so-called "Politically Correct" movement, active on many campuses in California and nationally. (For more about "PC" and related campus developments, see this issue's Commentary: "The Evidence of Our Own Eyes," page five, and "Flies in Amber," page 10.)

In apparent reference to "PC," the pamphlet says NAS "is deeply concerned about the widening currency within the academy of perspectives which reflexively denigrate the values and institutions of our society. Because such tendencies are often dogmatic in character and indifferent to both logic and evidence, they also tend to undermine the basis for coherent scholarly dialogue." NAS "encourages a renewed assertiveness among academics who value reason and an open intellectual life."

An article in the 1989-'90 Winter issue of NAS's journal, *Academic Questions*, by 1989 Stanford graduate Isaac D. Barchas surveyed the aftermath of the school's decision to drop its Western Civilization requirement. Barchas explains that "while the radicals undoubtedly won a major victory . . . , one that bodes ill for the future of undergraduate education at Stanford, a variety of obstacles to radical curricular reform, both intellectual and concrete, currently frustrates the plans of the campus left."

One of those obstacles, Barchas writes, was that "the radicals, like most revolutionaries, were almost entirely negative. They knew what they didn't like, but not what they did. In putting all of their energies into denunciations of the core list of the Western Culture program, radical students left the specific content of their new requirement extremely vague . . . . As a result, Stanford ended up not trading one course for another, but rather trading a focused and established course for what amounts to a curricular blank check."

A subscription to *Academic Questions* is included in NAS membership which is open to "all present and former university or college faculty members, administrators, and graduate students sharing the NAS principles." Membership dues are: $30 annually for faculty members and administrators, $15 for graduate students. Contact NAS at: Suite 250 East, 20 Nassau St., Princeton, NJ 08542, 609/683-7878. For more information about the California Association of Scholars, contact: Professor Glynn Custred, CAS, P. O. Box 7602 Landscape Station, Berkeley, CA 94707, 415/937-2125.

Federalist Society

Lungren in the Limelight

The Federalist Society of Sacramento recently hosted a luncheon featuring California Attorney General Dan Lungren speaking on "New Directions for the Attorney General's Office." Plans for 1991 include an event featuring California Supreme Court Justice Marv Baxter and a tribute to Third District Court of Appeal Presiding Judge Robert Puglia.

On the national level, the Federalist Society announced the annual National Student Symposium edition of the organization's quarterly *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*. Students interested in

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working on this issue of the *Journal* should send a resume and writing sample to: The Federalist Society, 1700 K St., NW, Ste. 901, Washington, D.C. 20006. Student editors will be chosen by May and will work over the summer.

For further information on activities of the Society's Sacramento Chapter, contact: Charles Bell, Federalist Society of Sacramento, P.O. Box 22761, Sacramento, CA 95822, 916/ 446-6752.

Institute for Contemporary Studies

Is Economics Moral?

ICS Press announces *From Political Economy to Economics — And Back?*, a book, its publicist says, that "brings together economists (such as Nobel Prize-winner James M. Buchanan) and political thinkers (such as Allan Bloom, author of *Closing of the American Mind*) to explore the basis for a reinvigorated political economy." The book's premise is that economics has lost the moral part of its mission, becoming "impressively technical and scientific" but lacking in "political and moral common sense." Some contributors attack the classic economic model of the completely rational, self-interested individual, arguing that it cannot explain some of the most interesting human types — "the devoted citizen who risks death in battle for his country, for example, or the holy man who places God above material gain." They call for a political economy that explains the moral dimensions of a good society. Edited by James H. Nichols Jr. and Colin Wright, professors of government and economics, respectively, at Claremont McKenna College. Cloth $24.95, 250 pages. Contact: Vicky Barrett, ICS, 243 Kearny St., San Francisco, CA 94108, 800/326-0263.

The Free-Market Environmentalist

Environmental Quality with Economic Prosperity

The Free-Market Environmentalist, an eight-page, bi-monthly newsletter, began publishing in January. Ambitious in its scope, each issue will "contain at least one article addressing theoretical principles underlying environmental issues," according to an informational brochure accompanying sample issues. "In addition, each issue will contain an article applying those principles to environmental issues." Editor-Publisher Mike Gemmell, a geologist and eight-year veteran of the environmental consulting industry with expertise in the areas of ground water contamination and water resources development, says he started the newsletter "in an attempt to inform the public and industry that it had better wake up, or industry was going to be destroyed by the mainstream environmental movement."

No empty bit of fluff, issue one discusses the historical roots of current environmentalism in the works of Immanuel Kant, George Hegel, and Ernst Haeckel. Remarkably, though, even such heavy-sounding material comes across clearly and interestingly in concise (100-word) essays, set off with pleasant illustrations. For instance: "Two fundamental principles form the core of the ecologic philosophy, holistic biology and resource economics. Holistic biology is the doctrine that all life, and even non-life, is part of a larger collective organism. This organism has been called 'Mother Nature,' 'Planet Earth,' and 'Gaia' to name a few. Resource economics is the doctrine that contends resources available for life should be conserved due to the inevitable long term loss of energy from Man's activities. Those are the principles. The question is, are they true?"

Brief mention is made of Ayn Rand's "Capitalism the Unknown Ideal" which contains, we are told, "the philosophic roots of capitalism" which "are the foundation for free-market solutions to environmental issues," so perhaps reading ICS's *From Political Economy to Economics* alongside *The Free-Market Environmentalist* might provide some helpful balance. Annually $48. Contact: Mike Gemmell, *The Free-Market Environmentalist*, 1572 D. Sycamore, Box 329, Hercules, CA 94547, 415/ 758-3731. CPR

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Commentary

The Evidence of Our Own Eyes

"It's time for the old Billy Baroo."
— Judge Smalls, Caddy Shack

IN SEPTEMBER 1980, Jimmy Carter, trying to revive his collapsing campaign (and foreshadowing a Michael Dukakis gambit eight years later when *his* race for the presidency was unraveling), pulled from his campaign golf bag the Democrats' equivalent of Judge Smalls' "Billy Baroo," the most trusted club in the bag, brought forth only in the most desperate circumstances. Ronald Reagan, Carter announced, was a "racist."

Again foreshadowing the Dukakis campaign, Carter's charge fell flat. It led a *Washington Post* editorialist to write that "Mr. Carter, as a candidate, tends to convey a mean and frantic nature." After pointing out that the "racist" label "doesn't fit Mr. Reagan," the editorial concluded that "the most disturbing feature of the Carter campaign technique is that he displays a certain contempt for the evidence of *our own eyes*, asserting these things that run counter to what we can see and already know, as if he believed it didn't matter, that people would believe anything they were told."

THE ARGUMENT that affirmative action, the main subject of this issue of *California Political Review*, is somehow *not* a racist policy shares exactly this most disturbing contempt for the evidence of our own eyes. If admitting people to universities and even graduating them on the basis of race is not racism, if awarding contracts, jobs, promotions, and all manner of other preferments on the basis of race is not racism, then "racism" is a word without meaning. But despite the plain evidence observable to anyone with open eyes, affirmative action is regularly advanced not only as a remedy for racism, but as the *only* acceptable remedy; indeed, anyone opposing it is almost certain to find himself labeled "racist" as a matter of course.

This air of unreality grows thicker as the affirmative action culture is examined further. As Glynn Custred's article in this issue, "Flies in Amber," shows, the affirmative action policy for dealing with students admitted on the basis of race who then fail to meet university standards is: lower the standards. Tom Hayden and Willie Brown want to see affirmative action quotas for *graduations* as well as admissions. A subtle shift has taken place. Whereas affirmative action is usually begun as a policy designed "to make up for past discrimination," now it is increasingly characterized on campus as a necessary defense against the evil influence of a pervasive, still very much alive racism built into the whole educational system that, after all, only reflects the hopelessly racist "civilization" of the western world. It is a short step from this proposition to begin labeling anyone who opposes affirmative action as "racist." Next comes the ostracism of all such supposed racists, a step now taken with such regularity that it is becoming systematic and has even gained a title, coming to be called the "PC" — for "Politically Correct" — movement.

BELIEVE IT or not, these people actually go around trying to force students, faculty members, and administrators to reconstruct their vocabulary, banishing all but "politically correct" words, phrases, and, most importantly, ideas from their spoken or written discourse. They even have their own in-house scholarly theorists, the most notorious of which is Duke University's Distinguished Professor of English Stanley Fish. Fish expounds regularly on behalf of the "PC" phenomenon, handily disposing of its critics as an odious pack of "racist, sexist, homophobic" *non sequiturs*.

But what of the questions: does affirmative action undermine educational standards, dethroning merit and replacing it with race? What of Martin Luther King Jr.'s hope that all Americans would someday be judged on the "content of our character"? What of the original complaint against racism that it is unjust because it damns or extolls people on a meaningless basis, skin color, which they can't control while it ignores what they *can* control, namely, their moral choices between good and evil, truth and lies, love and hate?

FISH ANSWERS — in, for instance, December 24's issue of *Newsweek* magazine — that notions of merit come and go and, for his money, all are more or less equally meaningless. Professors, Fish told *Newsweek*, are "obliged to retool about every 18

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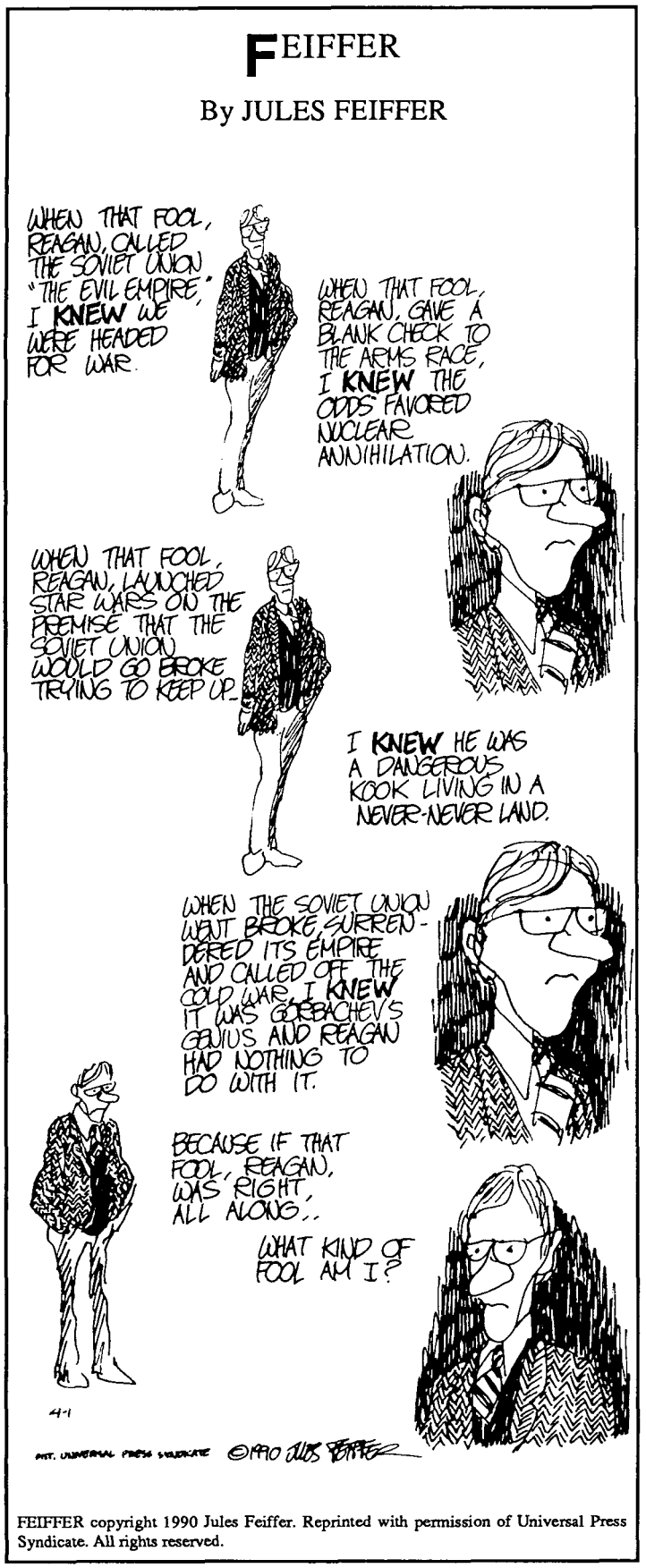
FEIFFER
By JULES FEIFFER
WHEN THAT FOOL, REAGAN, CALLED THE SOVIET UNION "THE EVIL EMPIRE," I KNEW WE WERE HEADED FOR WAR.
WHEN THAT FOOL, REAGAN, GAVE A BLANK CHECK TO THE ARMS RACE, I KNEW THE ODDS FAVORED NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION.
WHEN THAT FOOL, REAGAN, LAUNCHED STAR WARS ON THE PREMISE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD GO BROKE TRYING TO KEEP UP.
I KNEW HE WAS A DANGEROUS KOOK LIVING IN A NEVER-NEVER LAND.
WHEN THE SOVIET UNION WENT BROKE, SURRENDERED ITS EMPIRE AND CALLED OFF THE COLD WAR, I KNEW IT WAS GORBACHEV'S GENIUS AND REAGAN HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH IT.
BECAUSE IF THAT FOOL, REAGAN, WAS RIGHT, ALL ALONG...
WHAT KIND OF FOOL AM I?
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months. Just as you've finished mastering the last set of doctrines, another comes along . . . . I don't think it has that much to do with philosophy." You can say that twice. It's simple relativism swallowed whole: nothing is true, *really*. How does Professor Fish know that? Because, he wearily explains, doctrines beget opposing doctrines.

BUT, PLEASE, Dr. Fish, might we not perhaps benefit by *thinking* about these doctrines, by comparing and contrasting them, by seeing which are internally consistent and which are not, seeing which fit with our experience and which do not? Might we not thereby begin to separate the true from the false and stop fumbling around like fools who can't tell what is from what is not? But the professor does not address such questions. He prefers to keep his mind "open," so open, in fact, that it holds nothing at all.

It begins to become clear that the affirmative action debate is less about race or race relations than about rationality — about whether American education, commerce, politics, and culture will be governed by the realities evidenced by our own eyes or will instead spin off into a black hole of irrationality where vicious sentiments — of which racism is but one among many — flourish in abundance.

It is little wonder that Tom Hayden has taken to championing affirmative action. Any policy likely to short-circuit intellectual activity and to replace it with polarizing paranoia and resentments between peoples serves to weaken our ability to govern ourselves while it builds Hayden's ultra-left power base. The issue should be attacked head on, but care must be taken to avoid dwelling on specific inequities visited upon non-favored groups. Playing the group grievance game is exactly what affirmative action is all about. The policy's supporters can be expected to try to suck its opponents into that sordid debate.

FOR INSTANCE, the *Los Angeles Times*, in a recent story about strategizing by Democrat party leaders on this issue, reported that "Democrats will try to make [the point] that the fight for affirmative action is not for blacks alone.

"'There are workers of all kinds who get treated unfairly in the workplace, including women and Hispanics,' said Democratic Party Political Director Paul Tully." In addition, according to the *Times*, "Democrats will try to show that affirmative action for victims of discrimination is only part of a broad effort

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to improve employment prospects for all classes of Americans."

Exactly — for all *classes* of Americans. We all belong to *some* special interest group, these folks want us to know, and, each in our own way, need bloated government to bail us out. The real battle, as always, is between freedom and self-government on one side and socialism on the other. All the evils affirmative action brings — roaring irrationality, racial polarization, the subversion of education, the denigration of individual capabilities, the division of America into a thousand competing special interests — all serve to move us from freedom and toward dependence upon and repression beneath big government.

Its main weaknesses are, first, that it is intellectually untenable — that is, in simple terms, most voters know that counting by race in the name of opposing racism is ridiculous. Second, in its current form on California's campuses, affirmative action is anti-education. Few voters will support that. Third, and most important, it is obviously unjust in exactly the same way that other forms of racism are unjust. It thus runs directly counter to the moral sensibilities of most Americans.

Finally, the left, because it so completely fails to understand that American moral sense, will continue to repeat the mistakes of Jimmy Carter and Michael Dukakis. The left will continue to write off every opponent of affirmative action as a racist, thus betraying, as Carter did, its mean and frantic nature, alienating the vast majority of ordinary, fair-minded Americans, and perhaps even eliciting another intelligent editorial from the *Washington Post*. Twice in 11 years — it could happen.

Working With the Governor

OH WHAT fickleness. Back — only about a month ago — when Gov. Wilson gave his first State of the State Address, which the *Los Angeles Times* characterized as part of Wilson's "conscious" effort "to have better relations with the Democratic-controlled Legislature than did his predecessor," even Willie Brown was handing out what the Assembly Speaker presumably considers a compliment, saying the new governor "sounded more like a moderate Democratic legislator than a Republican ex-senator."

In the now standard GOP style of Ronald Reagan's 1982 and George Bush's 1990 preemptive compromise tax and budget proposals, Wilson came forth in his speech in support of certain tax increases and such other "sweeteners" as support for "substantial" funding increases for the Office of Family Planning. ("Democrats especially applauded" this one, the *Times* reported.) Wilson presumably supports his proposals on what he considers their merits and might argue with their being characterized as compromises or concessions. But regardless of his personal opinion of these spending and tax increases, somebody in the administration should have recognized that the governor's support for these policies was an enormously valuable bargaining chip that should have been reserved for the tough sessions to come when Wilson will need Willie Brown's and David Roberti's help in passing the parts of his package Democrats are *dis*inclined to support.

BUT WHAT, then, did Wilson receive for playing his tax and spend card up front? Well, he won't, perhaps, eventually be quoted, as George Deukmejian was recently, saying "I no sooner got off the inaugural platform and they were opposing me. It just seemed like they went out of their way to be hostile." Yes, this time Roberti graciously said "I'm not going to complain. I think [the speech] was very good. We want to work with the governor." There were also those nice words from the Speaker. *And* Wilson gets to see himself described, for the time being anyway, as "moderate" and "pragmatic" in the editorial columns of liberal newspapers, rather than "hard-nosed" or "right wing." But it looks as though the governor had better be satisfied with that, because the good will seems to be running out now that the serious business of policy-making is beginning.

"Wilson Budget Encounters Serious Trouble in Senate," read a Feb. 8 headline, barely four weeks after all that talk about working with the governor. Now it turns out the Democrats want Wilson to "revise" his proposals. They want a $1.4 billion income tax increase, "aimed at the wealthy," as the report puts it, and thus much more politically useful to them than the sales tax hikes the governor advocated.

"Roberti's comments," according to the *Los Angeles Times*, "along with those of other Democratic legislators . . . , made it clear that majority party lawmakers expect Wilson to make significant movement away from his position against an income tax increase." And how do these Democrats go about

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Sacramento Spectator

Beyond "Big Green"

NOT ONE to sit around and mope, Tom Hayden has apparently recovered from the beatings administered to his beloved "Big Green" by the voters and to his ego by Jane Fonda's lawyers. He was recently given the chairmanship of a special "education" committee by his pal, Speaker Willie Brown. With what ultimate goal? Racial quotas — yes quotas, for each class graduating from the UC and Cal State systems.

Sound too radical, you say? Could never happen, you say? The idea was floated in Sacramento last year by the usual assortment of ultra-lefties. The response, negative but not vehemently so, convinced Tom and Willie that this idea's time may have come. Incidentally, it gives conservatives an ideal opening to the Asian and Jewish communities, whose children would be directly affected in an adverse manner by such quotas. A conservative counter-attack is already being planned. The left is 'way out of touch with the average voter on this issue which could be a bonanza for conservatives. It will be interesting to watch.

ALTHOUGH *SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR* is entirely too modest to say "I told you so," attentive readers will recall that last column I said Gov. Wilson's senate appointee would be a surprise, and not someone on the "most likely" lists bandied about by the media. So be honest now, had any of you ever heard of John Seymour's name in this connection?

Gloating aside, the appointment of Seymour, who within the last year changed positions from pro-life to pro-death and from pro-off shore oil drilling to anti-drilling, shows not only Seymour's lack of conviction but also Wilson's stubborness. He had made a deal with the pro-aborts during his campaign that in return for their toned-down support for Feinstein, he would appoint a fellow pro-abort to his senate seat. He went to great lengths to keep his promise. *Sacramento Spectator* has it on *excellent* authority that Wilson offered the appointment to a moderately conservative, pro-life congressman from Southern California. The condition: that the congressman change his position on abortion. To this gentleman's everlasting credit, he told Wilson to take a hike. What Governor was left with is an unknown state senator, obviously willing to sell his soul for political advancement. The voters in last year's Republican primary saw through Seymour's venality and soundly defeated him for Lieutenant Governor. That this shallow, petty man is in the U.S. Senate is an insult to the institution.

ON THE good news front, a conservative challenge against Seymour *will* be mounted in the primary next year. Your *Sacramento Spectator* devoutly hopes that conservatives choose *one* candidate to carry our water, and that that candidate is the strongest one available. Running a weak candidate against Seymour and getting clobbered would be worse, in the long run, than supporting Seymour for re-election openly. One hot rumor on the Sacramento grapevine is that Pete Wilson, whose prestige will be on the line for Seymour next year, is actively considering endorsing a conservative in the primary for Alan Cranston's senate seat. The hope is that this would take the heat off "Senator For Sale" Seymour. This will be another interesting one to watch.

TO CLOSE on an up note, the *Sacramento Union*, voice of reason, sanity, and all good things American in town, is getting close to turning the financial corner — 'way ahead of schedule. Since new management bought the *Union* about a year ago, the paper has been struggling. If the *Union* survives, let alone prospers, it will serve as an example to investors all around the country that conservative newspapers are a venture worth looking at, especially in markets dominated by papers far to the left of their readers. Readers in the *Union*'s subscription area who aren't subscribers need to remedy that — now. The *Union*'s success will strike a blow that will be felt far outside of Sacramento. — *A.P.C.*

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enticing Wilson to move away from his position and toward theirs? With the sort of conciliatory words and offers of compromise the governor employed?

"I don't know why the Republicans always seem to want to tax the average person before the rich get hit," Roberti said, displaying his best "working with the governor" demeanor. "We are going to be as vigorous in protecting the average citizen as Republicans are in protecting the wealthiest citizens." And as if anyone needed to be told, Democrats let it be known that "they are unwilling to go forward with the governor's plan to cut welfare grants," according to the *Times*.

Republicans, especially those who get elected to chief executive positions, seem to think that politics ends with electoral campaigns, that after the winners are declared, all the office holders are going to get down solely to the business of governing. Democrats usually seem to know better. It would be terrific if people in government thought only, or even mainly (or, in some cases, at all), about making the institutions, resources, and responsibilities with which they are entrusted come together and work as well as they can be made to work for the general good of the population. But they don't. That, for a variety of reasons, is the main thing wrong with trusting government to do much of anything. The incentives in government are almost all *political*, not economic — that is, they push people to concern themselves with increasing their power bases and not to worry about whether or not the programs work.

DEMOCRATS LIKE Brown and Roberti aren't stupid enough really to believe that Pete Wilson cares only about rich people or that he wants to soak the poor, but they also know that accusing him of these things is the most promising way for them to increase their power at his expense, so they do it. That's politics, at least the way the left plays it. If your opponent offers an inch, demand a foot; if he'll give you a sales tax increase, tell him he's making progress, but 'way too little and not in quite the right direction. The idea is to make the poor chump look like a follower, never a leader, one who deserves a paternal pat on the head when he does well, and a kick in the shins when he goes wrong. Politics is about being in charge, and Roberti and Brown are experts at manipulating the images and setting the terms of debate to show that *they* are at the controls.

Occasionally, reality breaks in on this parlor game, as when, for instance, Standard & Poor's recently warned that California's AAA bond rating is in jeopardy. And a recently released California Business Roundtable survey reportedly revealed that one California company in seven plans to leave the state because housing, labor, and health care cost too much.

IT IS the normal business of Republicans to pursue policies that avoid this sort of bad news, just as it is the normal business of liberals to try, through bloated tax rates and stultifying regulation, to produce failure in the private sector, the better to justify their calls for less freedom and more government. *They* are the party of big government; their whole program, therefore, is political. But while Republicans, as the party of freedom, must give primary emphasis to promoting policies that help insure that our free society continues to function, they must also be political. Otherwise, they will lose both the political and the policy battles.

How do Republicans win politically? By following the example of the Republican who won more often and more convincingly than any other this century, Ronald Reagan. Lesson One is to forget about being "pragmatic," a euphemism for letting the left call the tune. Lesson Two is to set forth clearly and forcefully the arguments for less government and more freedom. Because he did so, Reagan left office having fostered policies that reduced inflation from double digits to 1.9 percent by 1986, helped gross investment as a share of GNP reach a postwar high in the 1980s, and created 20 million new jobs without increasing inflation, something critics said could never be done. Of course, Democrat leaders don't now talk about how well they were able to "work with" the old actor — but that is probably the surest sign that what he did was right.

End Notes

Trivia time. Who said it? "I wish I'd done this before I'd run for president. It would've given me insight into the anxiety any independent businessman or farmer must have . . . . Now I've had to meet a payroll every week. I've got to pay the bank every month . . . . I've got to pay the state of Connecticut taxes . . . . It gives you a whole new perspective on what other people worry about." Answer: George McGovern, former senator and 1972 Democrat nominee for president, musing in the *Washington Post* last March about his first-ever business venture as owner of a Connecticut hotel. Of course, if George actually *had* owned a business and had talked this way about it back in '72, he'd never have been nominated. CPR

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Flies in Amber

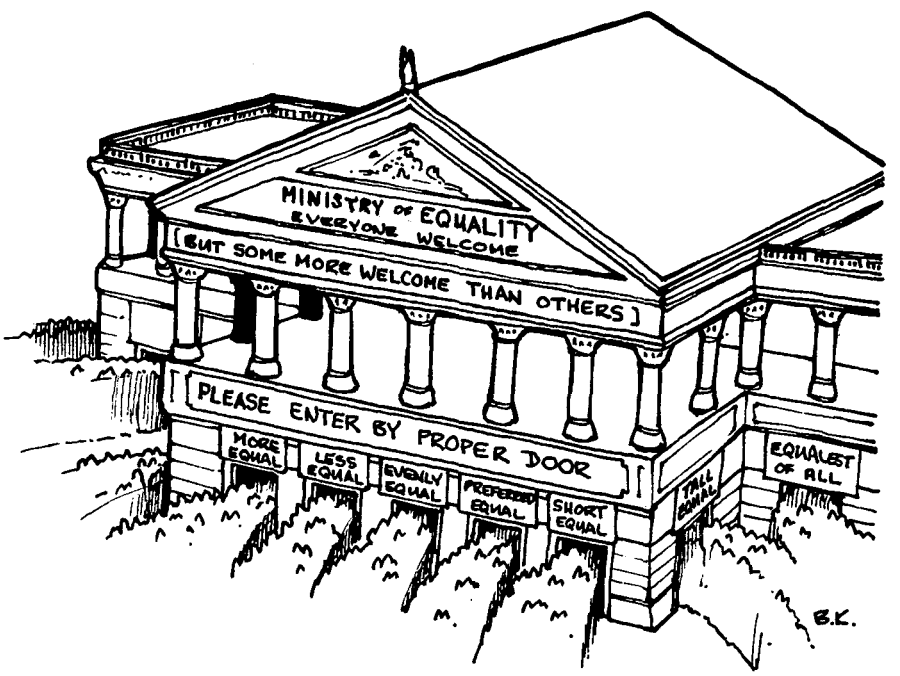
How Aging Radicals Use Race On Campus To Revive The Confrontational Fire of the '60s.

by
Glynn Custred

ON NOV. 7, 1990, a group of students burst into the classroom of Professor Vincent Sarich at the University of California, Berkeley, disrupting the class and accusing the professor of racism. The reason given was that Sarich, in his introductory anthropology course, had discussed the uneven distribution of abilities among different groups in society. The real reason, however, was an article recently published in the Cal Berkeley alumni magazine, *California Monthly*. In that article Sarich had criticized the university's affirmative action policy for student admission, procedures that operate on a two-track system of selection — one based on merit, and the other on race and ethnicity. Most of the minority students admitted under this program are only marginally qualified by UC standards, and thus stand out sharply against all the others. In fact, the gap between the two groups is generally four years, by no means a trivial difference at this level, especially in a fast-paced academic environment like that of Berkeley.

The result, wrote Sarich, is that two distinct student bodies are now developing on the Berkeley campus. These groups are distinguished not only by preferential treatment and by different levels of preparation and performance, but are also clearly differentiated from one another by race and ethnicity. No policy, said Sarich, could be better designed to create and intensify divisiveness in an already competitive atmosphere than this one. It was the publication of such views, especially in a magazine that reaches so many influential readers, that brought disruption to Sarich's classroom and subsequent campus-wide vilification.

THIS CONFRONTATION in the classroom was not, however, an isolated incident. At the beginning of the 1990 fall semester student protesters at San Francisco State University disrupted the class of political scientist Robert Smith demanding that his course, which dealt with black activism in American politics, be canceled. Neither the subject of the course nor the professor's perspective on the material covered were at issue. And race was not a consideration since both student demonstrators and the professor are black. What was at issue was whether topics dealing with blacks could be taught outside the black studies department. In other words, it was, simply, a battle over turf. What brings these



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two incidents together is the introduction of street tactics into the classroom; in the Sarich case to enforce politically correct thinking, and in the Smith case to protect the monopoly of a department where political correctness is defined. Both incidents are manifestations of a single movement growing on college and university campuses nationally. This movement goes under the rubric of "diversity" or "multiculturalism," and its goals are to transform higher education according to a political agenda whose roots go back to the '60s. This agenda calls for the establishment of:

1) a two-track system of student admissions and graduation, one based on merit and the other on race,

2) a two-track system of faculty hiring and promotion also based on race and ethnicity,

3) curriculum revisions designed to change students' view of the world, to influence their thinking, and, later, their decisions as voters and as professionals.

NOT ONLY are campuses in California now establishing such quotas in student admissions, but advertisements are appearing in academic publications across the country announcing special "targets of opportunity" openings on the faculties of several institutions within the California State University system. This amounts to a set-aside policy of faculty recruitment whereby no white males need apply. In fact, no blacks need apply in those cases where a Hispanic last name is required to fill out the balance sheet.

Curricular changes are also underway where exceptional thinkers and writers of the past, such as Plato and Shakespeare, are coming under review. The argument here is that such "dead old white men" are not only increasingly irrelevant in our new "multicultural" society, but that they also somehow offend and harm the psyches of women and minorities. The new curriculum must, it is said, represent, in the proper affirmative action style, thinkers and writers whose contributions are less important than the color of their skin and their gender. And even when the classics are taught, activists advocate "deconstructing" them (that is, subvert their original meaning) so they either come out affirming revisionist ideology, or as a foil against which ideological points are made. In response to pressure from those who clamor for such changes, curriculum committees at all the state's institutions of higher learning are now busy reconsidering the appropriateness of "Western Civilization" for the minds of our youth.

Those who have provoked this movement are small in number. They are in part '60s radicals, now among the tenured faculty and administrators of all our institutions of higher education, together with a small number of minority faculty who are lodged primarily in ethnic studies departments. These radicals have never departed from the Marxist-based thinking current in the '60s but now discredited everywhere in the world except the cloistered halls of the academy. Also the minorities involved are still fixed, like flies in amber, in the confrontational strategies of the '60s, apparently oblivious of the fact that that battle has been won and the front in the struggle for minority success has shifted venue. In order to extend their hold on their jobs, and to extend their power in general, such faculty perpetuate a doctrine of divisiveness by teaching, in courses required for all students, that minorities should hustle the victimization of their parents and grandparents while majority students should feel guilty about the sins of theirs.

Hayden's bill mandated that graduating classes mirror in racial and ethnic composition the state's high school graduating classes.

Revisionists are backed by a much larger number of faculty whose sensibilities were formed in the '60s, and who accept uncritically the rationalizations given for these radically different policies without bothering to examine the corrosive nature of the changes they entail. And then there are others, perhaps even the majority, who recognize the darker side of "diversity," and are disturbed by it, but who shy away from the automatic and inevitable charge of "racism" if they attempt to initiate a rational debate on the subject, or fear intimidation, like that served out to Sarich, Smith, and many others around the country, if they persist in their politically incorrect behavior.

EFFORTS AT redefining the university are not limited to college campuses. In the 1990 session of the California Legislature, Tom Hayden introduced a bill (AB 462) designed to change the state's Post Secondary Education Code, the legal framework in which California's publicly-funded institutions of higher education operate. This bill would have required that university administrators specify "goals, targets, and timelines" for increasing, by the year 2000, admission of students

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from "historically underrepresented" minorities in proportion to their numbers in the state's high school graduating classes. To facilitate this increase, the bill called for special admissions policies that would allow non-traditional criteria, including race, to be employed when deciding admission to the university.

A policy that would allow an influx of unprepared students to enter college would only increase the already high drop-out rate of minority students. To avoid this increase Hayden's bill also mandated that the *graduating* classes of schools in both the University of California and California State University systems mirror in racial and ethnic composition that of the state's high school graduating classes. This would have exerted pressure on administrators and faculty to insure the graduation of those poorly-prepared minorities who had been admitted on the basis of affirmative action criteria, in effect, extending quotas all the way from the admissions process to graduation.

THE BILL did not specify how these graduation quotas were to be met. One might assume that some kind of special program to help deficient students was intended, yet the legislation mentioned no such program. (And in any case we might ask just how much remedial training colleges and universities can reasonably assume and still remain institutions of *higher* education.) The only measure specified in the bill for carrying out this policy was a provision that would have held administrators accountable for their institutions' success in meeting these quotas, tying their job performance, and thus their advancement and job security, to the achievement of the mandated goals. Pressure would have been exerted on all concerned which would have led to the development of a double standard throughout the system, eventually demoralizing both majority and minority students, devaluing minority diplomas, and in the end, decreasing academic standards across the board.

In order to protect these provisions during the legislative process, some of them were inserted in education bills introduced by others. One such bill was Willie Brown's AB 3993 which, like the Hayden bill, would have mandated that UC and CSU student admissions reflect the ethnic and racial make-up of the state's high school graduating classes, and that administrators be held responsible for seeing to it that these same proportions be preserved in the graduating classes of state funded colleges and universities.

Another piece of legislation, introduced by Sens. Hart and Killea (SB 507), stipulated that preference be given to students from "historically underrepresented minorities" when transferring from community colleges to four-year institutions. Since "economically disadvantaged students" were listed as a separate category the effect of the legislation was to introduce racial and ethnic quotas in the transfer process, criteria that would have taken priority over the student's academic achievement.

And finally there was the Torres bill (SB 2843) which called for the implementation of a full-scale plan, with specific goals and timetables, for achieving diversity in faculty hiring in both the UC and CSU systems. The problem is that there are simply not enough qualified minority candidates to satisfy the affirmative action requirements of all the colleges and universities of the country. In order to meet the terms of this mandate, pressure would have been exerted on search committees to reduce standards, thereby establishing a double track for faculty hiring. Besides creating a dual system of faculty quality within the university, such a policy would also be discriminatory, since it excludes more highly qualified whites and Asians from some jobs simply because of the color of their skin and their ethnic background. "Diversity," in this sense, therefore, is just a code word for reverse discrimination.

IN ORDER to retain and promote such affirmative action hires the bill would also have required that faculty committees and administrators be sensitive to such new and vaguely formulated criteria as "non-traditional research" and "public service" when evaluating candidates for retention, tenure, and promotion. This would have opened up the entire process to serious abuse thus threatening the standards and the morale of the faculty. Moreover, college and university administrators would have been held accountable for the success of the program in the

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same way they would have been responsible for maintaining the double standards of affirmative action student admission policies.

All four bills were passed by the Legislature but were vetoed by the governor. Willie Brown, however, is still the most powerful man in the Assembly and Tom Hayden has been given the chairmanship of a new Assembly committee that will deal with UC and CSU matters. These two legislators, together with their allies in the Assembly and the Senate, are certain to reintroduce all these measures in 1991. As one Sacramento insider put it, "Hayden has already played his hand, so we know what he intends to do *and* that he and his friends have the votes to pass these bills."

HIGHER EDUCATION is no longer the prerogative of a privileged elite. Instead it constitutes an essential component of a dynamic and competitive economy. This means that the greatest number of people must be educated to the highest degree possible in a modern, forward-looking society. And this, in turn, means a commitment to mass public higher education, not only for obvious economic reasons, but also since an informed citizenry, able to exercise critical judgement, is essential for the proper functioning of a democratic nation.

With these needs in mind, planners after the Second World War devised and set in place a system of colleges and universities in California operating on all levels designed to provide high quality education at low cost and with maximum accessibility; a system that in fact is a model for modern countries everywhere in the world.

The problem of minority "underrepresentation" is not the fault of this system, and it is not due to racism on the part of the faculty and administration. In fact, no segment of society is as liberal as is the academic community. The reason for "underrepresentation" is simply that minority students leave high school with greater academic disadvantages than do others. For example, the National Endowment of Educational Progress reported in 1988 that Hispanics possess literacy skills half a standard deviation point below white youths, and that blacks score a full standard deviation point below whites, a substantial difference indeed. The report goes on to say that, on average, black high school graduates score lower on literacy tests than do white high school dropouts, and that the scores of black college graduates are similar to those of white high school graduates. Also blacks on average are a full 100 points lower on SAT scores than are whites. These deficiencies are the results of many factors that have already had their effect before such students reach college age. Statistical proportionality at the college level, achieved without regard for the academic preparation and ability of those admitted in the name of diversity, is thus not an educator's solution to a serious problem, but rather a bookkeeper's solution, and a dishonest one at that.

This lag in preparation and performance is indeed a very serious problem since newly created jobs on all levels require ever greater intellectual skills. Skirting this problem through the quick fix of statistical parity works to the disadvantage of the very people it is supposed to help. In fact bringing someone to the university simply to have his color represented on campus is not much different from bringing an athlete to college to play football for the school then dropping him once his eligibility runs out without the education he was ill-prepared to receive in the first place. Also, to mandate that such students be given diplomas anyway, as the Brown and Hayden bills would have done, is even more shocking, for it reveals a cynical attitude towards the university, viewing it not as an institution where people learn facts and intellectual skills, but instead treating it as nothing more than a credential mill. If that is all the university is why spend billions of dollars a year to maintain it?

Statistical proportionality at the college level is not an educator's solution to a serious problem, but rather a bookkeeper's solution, and a dishonest one at that.

THE MOST disturbing thing about such policies, however, is that they are inherently racist since they reveal a tacit assumption that minorities really cannot do any better. Minorities must therefore be given the benefits that others must earn through hard work and merit. Faculty and administrators thus seem to be saying, "save the standards and the rigor for those who are capable, namely those who really count." The implication of innate inadequacy that these policies instill in minority students is the worst of its many bad features. It ex-

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Affirmative Action's Textbook Case

Half a world away in a cultural and historical setting completely unlike our own, race-based preferential policies in the once-peaceful island nation of Sri Lanka still produced the usual tragic results.

by
Thomas Sowell

THE INTERNATIONAL nature of the issue of preferential policies was unintentionally dramatized for me one evening by a well-educated Maori woman who was part of a group having dinner together in an expensive hotel restaurant in Auckland, New Zealand. The central theme of her explicit argument was the historical uniqueness of the Maoris in New Zealand — and how that uniqueness justified and required preferential policies. But the key concepts she used, her general attitude, the intonations of her voice, her facial expressions and gestures, the body language, the buzzwords, her evasive, accusatory, and retaliatory responses to any serious questions or criticisms, all could have been found in almost any large city in the United States, among the representatives of any of a long list of groups having or seeking preferential treatment. With local variations, similar arguments and attitudes can be encountered from Britain to Malaysia to Fiji, and at many points in between. Whatever the uniqueness of the Maoris in New Zealand, the arguments and connotations were closer to being universal than unique.

Groups receiving preferential treatment are indeed as disparate as can be imagined — from untouchables in India to whites in South Africa. This makes any common patterns among them all the more striking and deserving of closer scrutiny. One of these patterns is that preferential programs, even when explicitly and repeatedly defined as "temporary," have tended not only to persist but also to expand in scope. Another is that both official and unofficial writings on preferential programs tend to abound in discussions of the rationales, mechanics, and resource inputs of such programs, with a dearth — or even total absence — of data on the actual outcomes. A third is that those outcomes typically include an increase in group polarization in the wake of preferential programs, with non-preferred groups reacting adversely, in ways ranging from political backlash to mob violence and civil war. On this last point, Sri Lanka provides a textbook case.

The island nation of Sri Lanka, off the southeast coast of India, began its independence in 1948 with a much more hopeful prognosis for intergroup relations than did most Third World countries. As a Sri Lankan scholar described the situation:

"In striking contrast to other parts of South Asia (including Burma), Sri Lanka in 1948 was an oasis of stability, peace, and order. The transfer of power was smooth and peaceful, a reflection of the moderate tone of the dominant strand in the country's nationalistic movement. More important, one saw very little of the divisions and bitterness which were tearing at the recent independence of the South Asian countries. In general, the situation seemed to provide an impressive basis for a solid start in nation-building and national regeneration."

YET THIS optimism, shared both by outside observers and by Sri Lankans themselves, proved to be painfully and disastrously mistaken. The worsening of relations between the Sinhalese majority (about 70 percent of the population) and the Tamil minority (about 20 percent) began with preferential policies.

When the British colony of Ceylon became the independent nation of Sri Lanka, the leaders of its Sinhalese and Tamil communities were both committed to

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peaceful relations between the two groups and both were represented in the government. The Sinhalese and Tamils remained separate communities, with different religions (Buddhism and Hinduism, respectively) and different languages (Sinhala and Tamil), but this had not prevented a largely peaceful coexistence under British rule. As late as 1952, an observer could write:

"In general, relations among these main communities in Ceylon are cordial, unmarred by the sort of friction that exists between Hindus and Moslems in India. Except for one sad episode in 1915, racial riots have been unknown. Religious and racial harmony is present in high degree: Buddhists celebrate Christmas, Christians take part in Wesak illuminations, Buddhists appear in great numbers at Hindu festivals, and so forth."

BOTH SINHALESE and Tamil elites were English-speaking, educated, and Westernized — and these elites often lived in proximity to each other and apart from the more traditional members of their respective groups. These elites were expected to be a force for mutual accommodation between Sinhalese and Tamils. The Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority have each had significant internal subdivisions and there are a number of smaller ethnic and religious communities as well. But it was the Sinhalese-Tamil relationship that proved to be crucial, and tragic, for Sri Lanka.

As in so many other Third World countries, different groups in Sri Lanka felt the impact of Western civilization differently and responded to it differently. A succession of colonial rulers began with the Portuguese (1597-1658), continued with the Dutch (1658-1796), and concluded with the British (1796-1948). Each nation's Christian missionaries came to Sri Lanka. The first missionary schools were established under the Portuguese in Colombo and in Jaffna — that is, in both Sinhalese and Tamil areas. However, the missionary schools that were destined to have historic impact were the English-language schools established on the northern tip of the island, the Jaffna Peninsula — a heavily Tamil-populated area. The British established schools in the north and so did American missionaries, who established a school that eventually became Jaffna College. The Tamils not only received English-language education first but were also more receptive to education. Living in an arid, less fertile, and less developed part of Ceylon, they saw in education one of their few chances for improvement. The Tamils thus had a head start in Western education — and, as in other places and times, historic head starts had enduring consequences.

The worsening of relations between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority began with preferential policies.

EDUCATION DEVELOPED rapidly in Ceylon, mostly through the spread of missionary schools, but it started from a very low level of literacy — only 17 percent in 1881. As late as 1901, only about one-third of the Ceylonese males who were Buddhist or Moslem were literate, as were about one-fourth of the male Hindus and just over half of the Christian males. Female literacy rates were significantly lower among the Christians and far lower among the Buddhists, Moslems, and Hindus. The education that mattered most was education in the English language, which opened up jobs in the British colonial government and in the professions. Few Ceylonese had this but, among those who did, the Tamils outnumbered the Sinhalese, many of whom attended Buddhist schools conducted in the Sinhala language. As of 1921, Ceylonese Tamils also outnumbered the Sinhalese in the legal and medical professions.

A further breakdown of these two groups reveals even more clearly the effects of different exposures to the culture of the West. One segment of the Sinhalese population, those living in the southern highlands of

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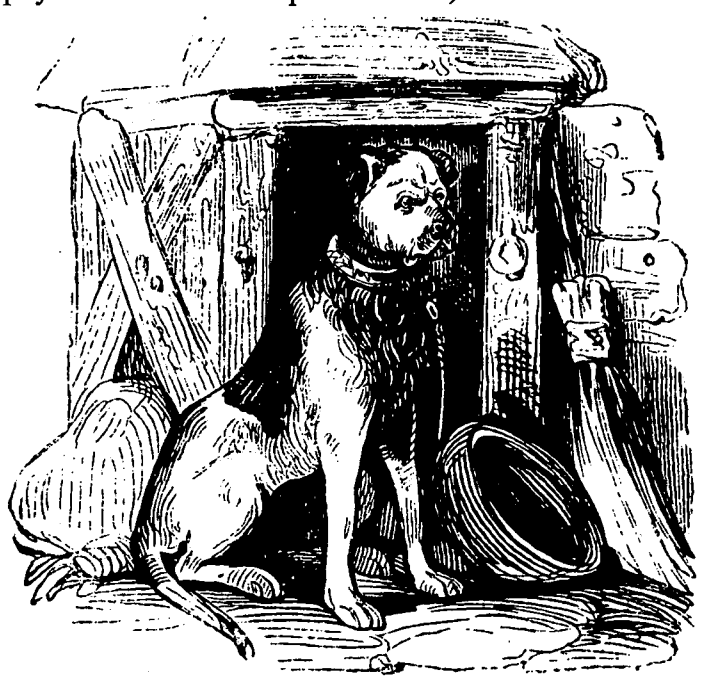
Kandy, remained independent as successive European conquerors took over the remainder of the island. Eventually, the British conquered Kandy as well in 1815, but by then the low-country Sinhalese were ahead of their Kandyan brothers in Westernization. They have remained so ever since. Among the Tamils, those known as "Ceylon Tamils" had roots in Ceylon that went back for centuries. But there was also a large contingent of Tamil immigrants from India and their descendants, all of whom continued to be called "Indian Tamils" generations after their families settled in Ceylon. The Indian Tamils were principally laborers brought over to work on British-owned plantations in southern Ceylon in the nineteenth century. Geographically and socially isolated from the Ceylon Tamils, with their children receiving little or no education, these Indian Tamils were the most poverty-stricken and least educated people on the island.

As of 1921, the percentage of Ceylonese lawyers who were Kandyan Sinhalese was only four percent, compared to 46 percent who were low-land Sinhalese, even though the Kandyan Sinhalese population was about half as numerous as that of the low-landers. Ceylon Tamils, who in turn were only about half as numerous as the Kandyans, nevertheless constituted 28 percent of all Ceylonese lawyers. In the medical profession, Ceylon Tamils actually led with 44 percent of all positions, compared to 34 percent held by all Sinhalese (only one-tenth of whom were Kandyan physicians or medical practitioners).



In occupations not requiring a knowledge of English, these groups were very differently represented — but still not in proportion to their respective shares in the population. For example, among coconut plantation owners and supervisors in 1921, 86 percent were low-land Sinhalese, six percent were Kandyan Sinhalese, and three percent Ceylon Tamils. Virtually all comparisons of Sinhalese and Tamils in high-level positions are, in effect, comparisons of Ceylon Tamils with Sinhalese, largely low-country Sinhalese. Therefore the "over-representation" of Ceylon Tamils (who were about 12 percent of the population in 1921) was in fact even greater than the statistics based on total Tamil population would indicate. In 1942, when Tamils were 19 percent of the population and 32 percent of the students at Ceylon University College, these were virtually all Ceylon Tamils.

The preponderance of Sinhalese among plantation owners and managers highlights one of the contrasts between Sinhalese and Tamils. The Sinhalese live in richer agricultural areas with ample rainfall, and so have options other than jobs in the government and the educated professions, however much such jobs may be coveted. Historically, young Tamils have had to migrate out of their own regions to find jobs in the more prosperous Sinhalese-inhabited regions. Often people left behind in the Tamil regions depended upon remittances from those who were working elsewhere. In short, it was not that the Tamils were the "haves" and the Sinhalese the "have-nots." Rather, the Tamils seized upon education as a way of escaping an unpromising economic situation in their own regions of the island, while the Sinhalese both had other options and, as Buddhists, were long resistant to Christian missionary schools.

The Tamil head start in education — and its occupational consequences — persisted through the colonial period and into the era of independence. As of 1948, Tamils held one-fourth of all civil service jobs. Since these were Ceylon Tamils, that means that they were "over-represented" by more than double their share of the population. Tamils were also 32 percent of the government's doctors, 40 percent of its engineers, and 46 percent of its accountants. Moreover, the proportion of Tamil doctors, engineers, and accountants in government continued to grow over the next 15 years.

While the political leadership at the time of independence was committed to avoiding ethnic polarization, the whole situation was ripe for a demagogue. Even

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aside from ethnic issues, the fact that the country's ruling elite was largely an English-speaking group in a country where the vast majority of the people could not understand English meant that official business — including Parliamentary proceedings and court trials — was conducted in a foreign language. The whole lifestyle and cultural allegiance of this group was British rather than Sri Lankan. Add to this the ethnic disparities in education, in the civil service and in the professions, and all the ingredients for a populist crusade were present.

IN THIS setting, the Sinhalese political figure S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike launched a bid for the Prime Ministership in 1956, by demanding a special, preferential place for the Sinhalese language and the Buddhist religion. As has happened so often in countries around the world, this militant extremist grew up remote from the group in whose name he now spoke so stridently. Bandaranaike's family had for generations been devoted to British culture and lived a thoroughly British lifestyle — speaking English rather than Sinhalese, for example, and living in the manner of British aristocrats. Despite Bandaranaike's championing of the Sinhalese language, he grew to adulthood without speaking it. Despite his championing of the Buddhist religion and the Sinhalese peasants, he grew up a Christian aristocrat, having been christened with names taken from his godfather, the British colonial governor. After going away to England to be educated at Oxford, Bandaranaike returned to Sri Lanka, changed language and religion, and became a political crusader for preferential treatment for the Sinhalese masses.

The anomaly of a country's governmental processes being conducted in a foreign language unknown to the great mass of the population gave rise to a demand that Sri Lanka's "own language" be used. But, however politically effective this phrase was, it was logically ambiguous, for the Sinhalese and the Tamils had different languages. More important, the language used — whether English, Sinhalese, or Tamil — would have disparate impact on job opportunities for each group in the government. Within this context, Bandaranaike's attacks on the English-language elite ruling Sri Lanka quickly metamorphosed into a drive for preferential use of the Sinhalese rather than the Tamil language, and was a harbinger of preferential policies in general.

The year 1956 was a turning point in Sri Lanka's history. That year saw not only a stunning political upset victory by Bandaranaike but also a subsequent law making Sinhalese the only official language throughout the island, a government announcement that the country's leading teacher-training college would be reserved for Sinhalese teachers only — and the first of a series of bloody race riots launched by the Sinhalese against the Tamils. An official account of the 1956 riots referred to "many instances of arson and such brutal scenes as men being burnt alive." But, once the political potential of Sinhalese preferences was revealed, political leaders of various parties and movements began a process of trying to outbid each other for Sinhalese support by demanding extensions and intensifications of preferential policies. Political parties across the ideological spectrum, including Marxist parties, jumped on the bandwagon in this emotionally charged atmosphere. Tamil protest demonstrations in 1958 were met by Sinhalese mob violence in which hundreds of people — mainly Tamils — were killed, some by being burned alive in their homes.

In 1959, a Sinhalese Buddhist extremist assassinated Bandaranaike for having betrayed the cause . . . . Racism could not be turned on and off like a faucet.

BANDARANAIKE, HAVING achieved his goal of becoming Prime Minister through group polarization, attempted to put the issue to rest in 1958 with an accord with the Tamils, compromising on some issues. However, the outcry from the aroused Sinhalese public prevented this accord from being carried out. In 1959, a Sinhalese Buddhist extremist assassinated Bandaranaike for having betrayed the cause. However, the passing of S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike from the political scene did not mean the passing of the group polarization he had aroused or the preferential policies he had spawned. On the contrary, both continued in subsequent administrations, not only when his widow became Prime Minister but also when the political opposition took over the government. Racism could not be turned on and off like a faucet.

Christian missionary schools had long been a sore

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Pact Man

What Happened in Hollywood When Hitler and Stalin Were Allies

by
T. R. O'Neill-Lopez

"THERE REALLY were communists in Hollywood. I was one of them."

Thus opens an article by screenwriter Paul Jarrico (*Tom, Dick, and Harry*, *Salt of the Earth*) aptly titled "Unrepentant." Jarrico goes on to reinforce the long-standing myth that Hollywood's Old Leftists were simply misguided idealists, a notion perpetuated in films such as *The Front* and, more recently, *Guilty by Suspicion*. Jarrico neglects to mention what he and his comrades were up to during the period when Stalin and Hitler were allies. Since we are now in the 50th anniversary of the Stalin-Hitler Nonaggression Pact, the time seems right to examine the record.

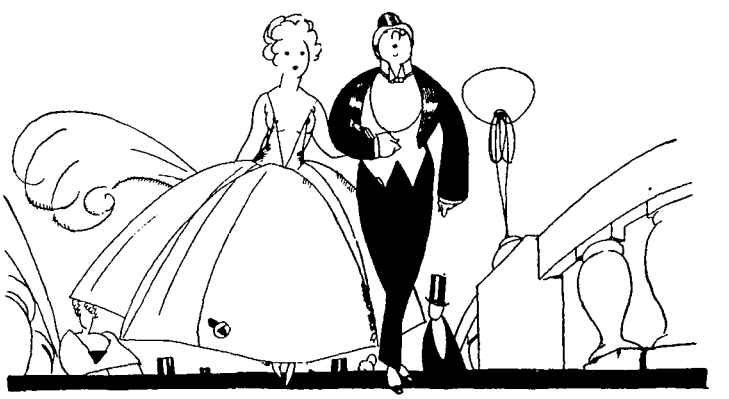
Hollywood in the late 1930s was a bastion of anti-fascist activity centering on organizations such as the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. On August 14, 1939, screenwriter John Howard Lawson (*Algiers*), along with Dashiell Hammett and some 400 other prominent Americans signed an open letter branding as "fascist" and "reactionary" those who asserted "the fantastic falsehood that the totalitarian states are basically alike." Writer-director Herb Biberman (*One-Way Ticket*, *King of Chinatown*) denounced predictions of the Pact as "fascist propaganda." A few days later, Molotov and Ribbentrop inked the deal that divided Poland, consigned the Baltic States to the Soviet Union, and effectively started World War II. Molotov added that it was "criminal" to fight Hitler, and that fascism was "a matter of taste."

In Hollywood the news hit like a dropped option. Local CPUSA activist Charles Glenn said that Party leaders were in hiding because "old country Jews, the ones who had fled Hitler, would have torn them apart." Practically overnight, the Hollywood Anti-Fascist League became the Hollywood League for Democratic Action.

Screenwriter Budd Schulberg (*On the Waterfront*) noted the presence of many communist "apparatus people" from New York in Hollywood during the Pact. He wrote an essay citing 15 reasons why the Pact was "wrong" but when he attempted to read it at a meeting they wouldn't hear of it. Such issues were simply not for discussion. It was at that time that Schulberg and others began the long and painful process of breaking away from the Party. Others remained faithful, and busy.

HERB BIBERMAN vociferously defended the new arrangement he had previously denouced as fascist propaganda. So did Samuel Ornitz, of *Little Orphan Annie* fame, who was known as the "great explainer." Dalton Trumbo (*Kitty Foyle*, *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo*, *Papillon*) was the wealthiest and most influential screenwriter of his time and remains a hero in Hollywood. But his record during the Pact remains obscure.

As a child Trumbo attended a Christian Science Sunday school and in his teens aspired to join the Ku Klux



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Klan. According to his biographer Bruce Cook, Trumbo liked "the military nature of the organization and wanted to wear the uniform." Later Trumbo became something of a pacifist. The Communist Party serialized his anti-war novel, *Johnny Got His Gun*, in the *Daily Worker*.

TRUMBO CLAIMED to have joined the Communist Party in 1943; however, Paul Jarrico claims to have recruited Trumbo to the Party *during* the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Nancy Schwartz, leftist author of *Hollywood Writers' Wars*, who is entirely sympathetic to Trumbo, said that such an action "would have been consistent with Trumbo's tendency to fight on the side with two strikes against it." Party apparatchik Dorothy Healy cites Trumbo as one of the Hollywood crowd who would do "whatever they were asked" and her example is Trumbo's support of the Party during a strike in 1938.

Bruce Cook finds it "revealing and deeply unsettling" that Trumbo wrote *The Remarkable Andrew* in 1940, during the Pact. Cook sees *Andrew* as inferior to Trumbo's previous work, to the point that it had "nothing to do with the art of fiction." It amounted instead to "a kind of extended seminar" and was "essentially political oratory." The story concerns Andrew Long, a Colorado bookkeeper who uncovers corruption in a small town. At one point, the ghost of Andrew Jackson appears to the protagonist and launches a 200-page seminar on international relations. Cook believes that the Jackson character was "simply the mouthpiece for Trumbo." And General Jackson disapproved most strongly of Unites States' assistance to those nations resisting Nazi aggression and conducts what amounts to a filibuster against Lend Lease — at that time intended for Britain. At one point, young Andrew contends that the British are, in effect defending the Americans. The general asks who they are defending the Americans from. Andrew Long answers:

> "The militarist powers of Europe who want to take over the Western Hemisphere."
> "Hm-m-m," murmured the General; and then, "Any of them ever attack us?"
> Andrew shook his head.
> "Well, then," demanded the old Warrior, "how in tarnation can the British Fleet have been defending us when nobody ever made us any trouble?"

General Jackson then denies that England is a true democracy. Later he has another revelation:

> "You don't mean that the British and the Hessians [Germans] are *at* each other?"
> Andrew nodded.
> "Well, God Almighty!" exulted General Andrew Jackson, his leathery old face wreathed in smiles. "Your hand, sir — and may they blast each other from the face of the earth!"

As for a U.S. alliance with England, the General growls: "There's no point in cooking up an alliance with a country that's already licked." Trumbo obviously wrote the book as a piece of intellectual Lend Lease for Stalin and his ally of the time.

Trumbo once told co-worker John Charles Moffitt that he could not collaborate on a film project because he was "extremely busy at this time because I am endeavoring to block Lend Lease." President Roosevelt, Trumbo said, "is warmongering in assisting Britain and France in a capitalistic war."

When Stalin attacked Poland in September, 1939, the American Communist Party described the action as "a humanitarian act to safeguard the rights of Polish workers."

Stalin then invaded Finland on November 30, 1939. Roosevelt denounced the attack and on December 14 the League of Nations expelled the USSR. But the American Communist Party justified the invasion and portrayed Finland as a pawn of Germany and Wall Street. Lillian Hellman attacked Tallulah Bankhead and other entertainers who wanted to take a collection for Finnish relief. Hellman derided such relief as unwarranted meddling in Soviet affairs.

ALSO IN December 1939, Philip Dunne (*How Green Was My Valley*) drafted a resolution condemning the invasion of Finland and supporting Roosevelt's foreign policy. He submitted it to the Motion Picture Democratic Committee (MPDC), whose board the Party dominated and who turned it down 19-0. Among those voting were writer Harold Buchman (*Here Comes Mr. Jordan*, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*), director Frank Tuttle (*Paris Honeymoon*, *Waikiki Wedding*), and union leader Herbert Sorrell. Dunne and his friend, actor Melvyn Douglas, then resigned from the Committee.

On February 11, 1940, the Nazis and Communists

(Please turn to page 31)

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Forum

Whose Public Television?

Does Public Television's taste in current affairs programming reflect that of the public it is supposed to serve? By no means, says David Horowitz, chairman of the Committee on Media Integrity (COMINT), a group organized "to promote balance in government funded media." COMINT recently scored a major victory in convincing the Public Broadcasting System's Los Angeles affiliate KCET to stop broadcasting, at least temporarily, the series "South Africa Now" on grounds it is biased in favor of the African National Congress. (See: "California Chronicles," CPR, Fall 1990.) Mr. Horowitz is author of several books and of "Letter to a Political Friend" which appeared in CPR's Spring issue. For further information, contact: COMINT, P.O. Box 2669, Hollywood, CA 90078.

California Political Review: *What's wrong with the Public Broadcasting System?*

Horowitz: The law — Title 47 U.S. Code Section 396(G)(1)(a) — specifies that funds provided by the federal government will be used to "facilitate full development of telecommunications in which programs of high quality, diversity, creativity, excellence, and innovation, which are obtained from diverse sources, will be made available to public telecommunications entities with strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs or series of programs of a controversial nature."

Of course the public broadcasting system — they like to call it the public broadcasting *service* — has been in violation of these guidelines from the beginning. During the 20 or so years of its existence, PBS's current affairs programming has been consistently skewed to the left — and by that I mean a left that is to the left of all Democrat administrations from Truman through possibly even Jimmy Carter.

Within the last year, during the weeks when the Berlin Wall was being torn down, liberating hundreds of millions of people from Soviet rule, PBS stations all over the country ran a special on American foreign policy in the Cold War which was not called "Triumph of Freedom" or anything like that, but "Imperial Masquerade." It was edited, produced, and written by Louis Lapham and it featured America as the Imperialist Empire. It was an unrepentant leftist version of the Cold War: anti-capitalist, anti-West, a version in which the featured events were the CIA coup in Guatemala in 1954, the Bay of Pigs, and Vietnam.

CPR: *Did it consider Vietnam after 1975?*

Horowitz: No. It was about America's "imperialist" adventure in Vietnam. Its chief authority was Noam Chomsky, who had just recently published his book *Culture of Terrorism* — by which he meant American culture, comparing Ronald Reagan to Adolph Hitler. So the program was clearly off the spectrum of any kind of rational view of the subject.

CPR: *But their mandate does not forbid controversial programming.*

Horowitz: Our organization is not against controversy. We support giving airtime to a spectrum of views. But virtually the only viewpoint shown in PBS documentaries is a left viewpoint.

CPR: *But what, they would say, about Bill Buckley's "Firing Line" or John McLaughlin's "One on One"?*

Horowitz: This fall PBS ran one four-part series, "Power in the Pacific," that started by blasting President Kennedy's policies and proceeded from there. They ran a six-part series on the Korean War, written by a Marxist editor of *New Left Review*. It talked about the "liberation" of North Korea by the Soviet army and the "occupation" of South Korea by the United States. Their first view of Ronald Reagan since his retirement was an-

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other show aired this fall called "High Crimes and Misdemeanors" which accused Reagan of treason against the Constitution. This is typical PBS prime time fare.

It is true that apologists for PBS invariably bring up Buckley's "Firing Line" and John McLaughlin's "One on One." But, in the first place, these are aired on Saturday afternoons which is the least-viewed portion of the schedule, whereas the programs I just referred to are all prime time specials and are repeated.

A series on the Korean War talked about the "liberation" of North Korea by the Soviets and the "occupation" of South Korea by the United States.

Additionally, the Buckley and McLaughlin shows often feature liberals. And they are "talking heads" programs — opinion shows. Everybody understands that they are opinion shows. My organization would have no objection to liberals who are as entertaining as Buckley and McLaughlin having their own shows with parallel formats and time slots. I would encourage that.

But that is not the same as so-called documentaries that reconstruct whole eras, shows that reconstruct the reality, so-called, of vast historical events with a radical skew to it. These are very persuasive precisely because they reconstruct reality. It is difficult *not* to mistake them for authoritative histories of events when you see film footage of the Vietnam War, or of the Guatemalan coup, and so forth. It is much harder to perceive the bias in these shows unless you are familiar with the detailed history and most people are not.

Also, these programs are then made available in video cassettes to schools. Several years ago, PBS did a particularly egregious series called "The Africans" that ascribed the plight of present-day Africa to the capitalist West. There is a video cassette and a book called *The Africans*, both of which are provided to schools.

***CPR:** Are the shows often given to schools?*

Horowitz: Absolutely.

***CPR:** What percentage of the money that supports these stations comes from taxpayers?*

Horowitz: Not a huge percent. A lot of their money comes from member contributions. KCET gets about $4 million from the government, but that money is crucial for the production of programming. And they have a channel *reserved* for them. They are privileged by the state. That channel cannot be bought even by Ted Turner because it is reserved for educational television. Also, people work for KCET and tapes and programs are supplied to them at much less than the commercial rate. So, there is a lot of privilege; they could not exist without the government. They exist *because* the government has made it possible for them to exist.

***CPR:** Do you think KCET stands out among PBS stations as particularly biased?*

Horowitz: No, it's typical — although, as I pointed out in a letter our organization sent to all the lawmakers in this state, KCET has a local show — "By The Year 2000" — that has run remarkably partisan attacks on the Republican Administration in this state. And I think that should be a particular cause for concern.

***CPR:** Should the boards of directors of PBS affiliates be approached about this problem?*

Horowitz: KCET's board is not elected by the station's contributors as is, for instance, the board of PBS affiliate KQED in San Francisco. KCET executives appoint the station's directors, so it is, in effect, a rubberstamp board. Appealing to it will have no effect. But the value of appealing even to KQED's elected board is minimal. Anybody who wants to, probably, can get five minutes to address that board, but what can you say in five minutes? If the individual hasn't seen the program they won't know what you are talking about. They would have to be viewing the station all of the time. Not even board members do that. So it is necessary to have some kind of institutional instrument to review these issues. We have suggested an ombudsman committee of the board to serve that purpose.

***CPR:** How would that work?*

Horowitz: The board should hire somebody with media experience, call him the ombudsman, and give him access to air time. For example, PBS ran an 11-part series on the Vietnam War. It was written by Stanley Karnow and reflected a kind of left-liberal view of the Vietnam War. Reed Irvine objected and it took a tremendous battle for him to get any air time to reply to it.

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An ombudsman would have made it easier to get this time for rebuttal.

There was a film called *The Harvest of Shame* about Stalin's deliberately-induced famine in the Ukraine. PBS wouldn't run it — because it offended their prejudice in favor of detente, I guess. So, Bill Buckley had to air it on his show. Again, the ombudsman would have been able to correct this problem. The ombudsman should have a staff — this is probably a utopian pipe-dream — but, reasonably, he would have a staff and could lobby the board, asking that it take steps to correct a situation where programming is skewed too far in one direction.

Remember, we're not talking about an isolated incident, but about consistent programming over many years. For example, if you were to take all the films that KCET, and the PBS system generally, aired on Central America in the last decade, you'd find that with one exception they were all pro-Sandinista, pro-FMLN, anti-United States foreign policy. This situation ought to be unacceptable. KCET executives deny their programming is not balanced, but are not forced to make their case. If there were an ombudsman, they'd at least have to do that.

***CPR:** Why does the left so often seem to dominate government-sponsored, "public" entities like PBS?*

Horowitz: The media is always skewed to the left. Leftists tend to go into media; conservatives tend to go into business. Leftists will gravitate toward the public, non-commercial end of things since they are hostile to business and commerce in the first place. They are also more likely to forego bigger salaries. They *do* get big salaries. The president of KCET, I think, gets a quarter of a million dollars — not too bad. But generally they do have lower salaries than business might offer, and the type of person likely to do that has got to be somebody on the left, someone whose life is dedicated to making trouble rather than to creating a life for himself and his family.

***CPR:** If most of the money that supports public T.V. does not come from government, is it mainly private donations — individuals responding to pledge drives?*

Horowitz: A lot comes from U. S. businesses.

***CPR:** Do these businesses object to the bias you describe?*

Horowitz: Businesses are very public relations-conscious and PBS has an image of being a public service. Let me put it this way: the *Los Angeles Times* television critic Howard Rosenberg is a leftist, so you are not going to find him saying what I'm saying here. If the *Los Angeles Times* had consistently pointed out the leftist, pro-totalitarian bias in PBS public affairs programming, I think the so-called underwriters — they're actually sponsors — might be more concerned. But, as things stand, they think they are doing a public service. They don't look carefully at what they are funding. Contrary to leftist paranoia, sponsors are not particularly censorious. They don't insist on a party line for the shows that they air.

This is a serious problem for conservatives. As I said, KCET ran a show that was nothing more than one, long attack on Gov. Deukmejian, depicting him as an anti-environmentalist. It was flimsy in the extreme. It gave no evidence that he was anti-environmentalist, only that he did not want to fund the Coastal Commission which, as the show did *not* point out, is two-thirds appointed by the state Senate's president pro tem — David Roberti — and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. It is a very partisan commission. One of the commissioners is now under indictment for extorting developers, which is the kind of thing one might expect of a bureaucratic monstrosity like the Coastal Commission.

When I called Deukmejian's office to try to get them to respond to this partisan attack by a public institution they just said that the governor ignores KCET. I think this is an ostrich-like attitude common on the right, unfortunately, and we suffer

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because of it. The left is in there fighting all the time. We're not.

***CPR:** What do you advise people to do?*

Horowitz: One thing they can do is support our Committee. We created the Committee to fight the left in the media. It is a thankless job, but one that needs to be done. I encourage people to contact us and to contact their own local stations and complain.

I also encourage people to write their congressmen about KCET's request for a new transmitter in Bakersfield and to urge their congressmen and other elected officials to oppose that transmitter until KCET reorganizes its board so that it is elected by the station's members, until it creates an ombudsman position, until it opens its committee meetings to the public, and until it takes much more seriously the complaint of what has to be the majority of its viewing audience: that the public's views are not reflected at all in KCET programming. The last conservative series that the public television system ran was Milton Friedman's "Free to Choose" and that was nearly 10 years ago.

***CPR:** Wasn't a sympathetic portrait of the post-war American conservative movement — a show called "The Conservatives" — also broadcast?*

Horowitz: Yes, but it was a one-hour show and a fairly neutral report. We don't even need to talk about conservative programming. How about a show that reflects the historical understanding of the John Kennedy Democrats, people like former Sen. John Tunney? People like Tunney couldn't be happy with this negative view of everything the Kennedy Administration did, with the negative view of America's foreign policy through the entire Cold War, the view that the United States didn't do anything right. Who could be satisfied with this except the neo-Stalinists of the *Nation* magazine? Theirs are the views reflected in PBS's specials.

***CPR:** So it is not* only *conservatives who have taken little interest in this issue. It's been neglected by a great many people.*

Horowitz: That's right. I feel conservatives should seek to rebuild the political center in the media. Conservatives often get isolated and marginalized because their attack is too broad-based. We live in a pluralist society. There are many viewpoints and they ought to be aired in the media. And I think most conservatives are happy with a dialogue. It's the *left* that wants everybody to be politically correct and wants only *one* voice.

But conservatives often just tar the media with a broad brush, and don't recognize the divisions that exist among those with whom they disagree. Conservatives ought to be advocating a level playing field, a responsible press that reflects the spectrum of views within the mainstream, rather than pushing only for conservative viewpoints. In this regard, I have made overtures to responsible liberal organizations on this issue.

***CPR:** Any positive reaction?*

Horowitz: It's too soon to tell. But, for instance, I think the *Times* has been pretty responsive to the organization. It has reported us pretty fairly. They *do* label us conservative and they *don't* label the producers of these leftist shows as leftists. And I don't think they refer to Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting — a Marxist organization — as a leftwing organization. But by and large their reporting has been pretty fair.

***CPR:** Final comments?*

Horowitz: Republicans do several things very well. They fight elections very well. In California, if you are raising money for an election campaign, you hold $500, $1,000-a-table, $5,000-a-table dinners. Everybody comes and there is a big war chest. Conservatives also fight the intellectual battle and the policy battle very well. Conservatives have overwhelmed liberals in the policy area. I'm thinking of the work of Charles Murray, the Heritage Foundation, and so on.

But what conservatives *don't* do well at all is what I call trench warfare: day-to-day battle with the left in all of these institutions like the press, like public television, like regular television, the movies, education. Conservatives do not have the organizations. The left has a thousand organizations that fight on these various cultural issues, but conservatives don't. And the cultural battlefield is now, in my view, the main field of battle because it is there that the attitudes and values Americans will have in the future will be decided. And it is on these values and attitudes that future elections will turn. So I urge conservatives to get more active in the cultural battle whether through an organization like COMINT or with some other organization with similar aims. CPR

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Criticus

Odd Ends

G. B. Tennyson

AS A SELF-CONFESSED *laudator temporis acti* (see my discourse on the circumflex, *CPR*, Fall 1990), it is entirely in character that I should view the current season as the end of the old year rather than as the beginning of the new, which, as all lovers of old things know, actually commences on Lady Day, 25 March. Therefore, it is appropriate for me to close out what I see as the old year with a series of odds and ends — not, I hasten to assure you, tiresome lists of 10 bests and worsts but items worth pondering that space did not permit my dwelling on in earlier reports from the cultural front lines.

The PC Word

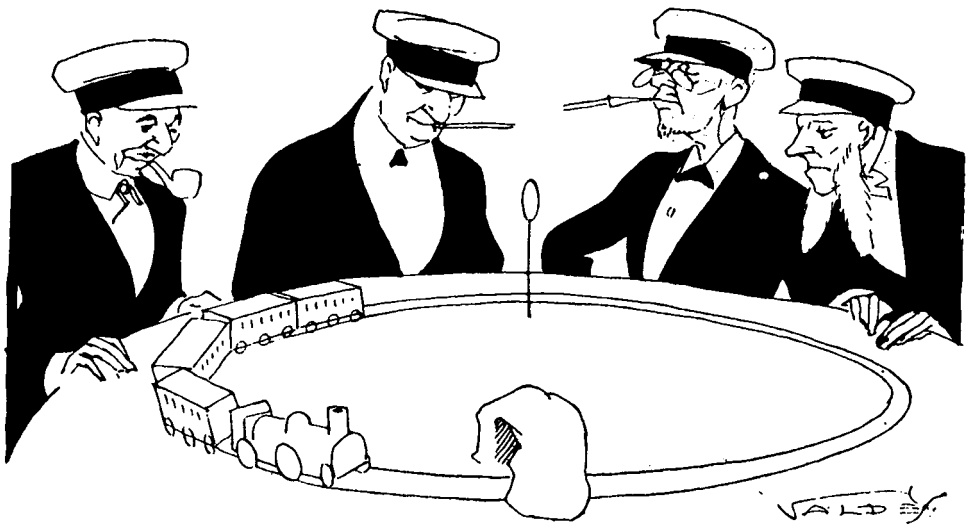
No, it no longer stands for Personal Computer. It means "politically correct," and it is the term for the concept advocated by the new academic thought police. These are the "tenured radicals" of Roger Kimball's book of that title (Harper & Row, 1990) which I commend to readers. The aim of those who impose political correctness is nothing less than the elimination of whatever they see as politically incorrect ideas on campus, and these, it hardly needs saying, are anything to the right of V.I. Lenin. The "movement," or at least the sentiment, is nationwide. The most extensive and hard-hitting treatment to date, though here and there it pulls a few punches, appeared as the cover story, titled "Taking Offense," in *Newsweek* for 24 December 1990. Once again, the *Wall Street Journal* had taken up the matter earlier (13 November in an article titled "Vive the Academic Resistance.") Read these accounts and weep, and then try to figure out a sane place to send your child to college. Switzerland, I should think. Certainly not Duke.

Fighting Words

For readers who remember my earlier reference to the burgeoning "fighting words" movement on college campuses, let me make clear that this concern is also a function of the doctrine of political correctness, which busies itself not only with course content — both what should be taught and even more what may not be taught — but also with what one may say and think outside the classroom. Coming soon, one suspects, to a college or university near you.

Shadowlands

On a somewhat brighter cultural note, and for the host of fans of C.S. Lewis, I point out that the play *Shadowlands* about the courtship of C.S. Lewis by Joy Davidman that enjoyed critical success in London's West End has now come to New York with the original principals, Nigel Hawthorne and Jane Lapotaire. The stage play is an adaptation by the same author of an earlier British made-for-television film that featured Joss Ackland and Claire Bloom. There has recently been a report that there would be a full-scale Hollywood treatment of this story. For my part, having seen the television play and the London production, I can only hope that the grander film version is not made. The television version, shameless heart-tugger that it was, was nevertheless more in keeping with the personal and intimate character of the story than the stage version, which obliges Hawthorne to posture about the stage like an academic Colonel Blimp waiting to have the air taken out of him by a pert foreigner with a few sharp verbal pins. All this on the big screen and with a hospital deathbed scene as well is likely to turn into what they used to call a "woman's weeper" film, or to



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speak more politically correctly, a person's weeper.

HAPPY NEW YEAR. The good news for the coming year and the current second volume of *CPR* is that prayer works and that the pen is mightier than the white-out fluid. The latest word is that the French have had second thoughts about the circumflex and are most unlikely to drop it after all. A storm of public opinion arose in opposition to the underhanded maneuver to eliminate that delightful diacritical mark, and the Immortals of the *Académie* have been falling all over each other to deny that they had ever supported such a move (though their votes were on record; but quick-steppers that they are, they say they didn't understand what the topic was; and in truth they did not initiate it, bureaucrats did).

Now I knew I had constant readers — two in fact, that I am certain of, though one of those is less than a year old and must be called rather a constant auditor — but I did not know my readership and the prayers of only two could move an entire nation. Perhaps there are others out there. It gives one a frightening sense of power that should of course be tempered with a comparable sense of humility. In future I shall try to be very careful in what I ask for.

But in the meantime, you can call me *Maitre*. CPR

WATCHED WORDS

Person Words

BEWARE THE loose use of the word *person*. It is nowadays often a replacement for a word that states or implies gender. Thus *person*-made for any man-made product, e.g. snow. Yea verily, though this particular use is collapsing of its own absurdity ("person-made snow covers the slopes"), and after an unrequited flirtation with *artificial*, which suggested something like confetti, most weather*persons* (who are still almost exclusively men, in case you hadn't noticed) have reverted to old sexist "man-made" snow. But *persons* of color is coming on strong, though it too will fade away from overuse. Of course no cultivated speaker would use it at all.

Rebels

THESE ARE left-wing guerrillas seeking to overthrow a government disagreeable to the news media. Media synonym: *Freedom Fighters*.

Terrorists

THESE ARE right-wing guerrillas seeking to overthrow a government agreeable to the news media. Media synonym: *Right Wing Death Squads*.

Empower, Empowerment

A SNEAKY ONE, this. Not yet wholly discredited, it is nevertheless keeping bad company. Unless carefully qualified, it means that somewhere someone is trying to take something away from you, as when you hear that it is time to empower those who in our society have been "marginalized" (another word worth watching). In its least pernicious form this means setting aside a seat on your city council for the homeless. In its more pernicious form it means depriving you of a vote entirely on the grounds that you are part of an oppressor class. In its most pernicious form it will soon mean appropriating your property for some greater good, such as the further *empowerment* of some bureaucrat.

— *Criticus*

BOOKS

All in the Family

The Fondas: A Hollywood Dynasty, by Peter Collier, Putnam, 336 pages $22.95.

Reviewed by K. L. Billingsley

THE PROBLEM with so much writing about entertainers is that it's simply part of the show, bulked with fluff and filler. For the hard stuff find someone like Peter Collier, an experienced chronicler (with partner David Horowitz) of influential families. Collier opens with a bracing vignette the family would prefer to forget, the 1950 suicide of Frances Fonda. "Henry was in New York about to go to a publicity interview when his mother-in-law, Sophie Seymour, called with the news that Frances had

Author and screenwriter K. L. Billingsley covers California for the London Spectator.

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killed herself." Jane and Peter were told the cause was a heart attack. The death was "a defining point in their lives — even more than Henry's celebrity, [it] made them different from other people; the dagger at the heart of their relationship which each of them would, at various times, twist and ineffectually try to withdraw." One gets some idea of the dark forces at play.

THE FIRST section deals with the patriarch, Henry, a man of humble beginnings whose sharply chisled face came to represent America. "I'm not a very interesting person," Henry once confessed. "I haven't ever done anything except be other people."

Collier knows his Hollywood history. A number of industry notables jostle in these pages: Thalberg, Zanuck, Selznick. But the material is fresh and focused, and packs some surprises. Here we learn that Al Capp saw *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* and modeled Li'l Abner on Henry Fonda.

One writer said that Fonda wanted to be part of "an average American family with no fuss or publicity about it," but his own success and the careers of Peter and Jane canceled that aspiration.

Here are the exploits of the childman, Peter: tantrums on the set, drinking bouts, prodigious drug use, sexual gymnastics, indecent exposure, and gratuitous violence. Peter was, Collier writes, "graced with hints of the Fonda presence, and with an opportunity to equal Henry's achievements," but he "could not subdue his abrasive, needful nature . . . . As the character he played in *Easy Rider* says, he blew it." It's a good read, but most people who pick up this volume will be flipping pages until they get to the real star, Jane. This is not a "hit" biography in the vein of Albert Goldman. Collier appreciates her considerable talents and notes that she was one of the few American stars interviewed on French television *sans* interpreter.

Even so, Jane comes across as more vain and vapid than even her most hostile detractors have portrayed her. In a note at the book's close, Collier describes the series of biographies "of families of wealth and power" he has collaborated in writing as explorations of "how generational linkages were forged and broken, how individuals raised with certain expectations cope with their history and heritage." Jane's heritage included a father who retained the moral sensibilities of older generations of Americans, particularly about marriage and family, but in what seemed to be a diluted form, as though the instinct remained but no understanding of *why* certain things are right and others wrong. Thus, for instance, though Henry repeatedly saw his marriages fail, often by his own choice, this record embarrassed him.

"Strange to think of a hick from Nebraska like me being married five times," he once said. "I'm ashamed of myself for being married so many times. It makes me seem like a fool or a failure."

Henry's incoherent, emotional moral sense was further diluted in his children, especially Jane, who seems to have retained the essential Fonda sense that one's life ought to have *some* kind of anchor, but with no idea of what it should be. Her life seems to have been one long, sad quest for some sort of purpose as she has attached herself, almost slave-like, to one pathetic mentor after another: Timmy Everett and Andreas Voutsinas in the early days, Roger Vadim and, most completely, Tom Hayden later on, and now, apparently, of all people, Ted Turner.

Jane's radical phase is probably the best example. Collier maps Fonda's involvement in mobilizing the glitterati against American involvement in Vietnam. Jane gives her credit card to the Black Panthers, who bragged that she also granted them more intimate favors. Her major regret, she tells a friend, is that she never managed a coupling with Che Guevara.

COLLIER DEFTLY weaves in the major subplot and romantic interest. It's a radical-to-riches story in which the Big Star falls for one of the Revolutionary Vanguard, Tom Hayden, who became the center of Jane's radical enthusiasms. He led her through a series of causes: Vietnam, anti-nuclear power, the Campaign for Economic Democracy, and Tom's election drives against Sen. John Tunney and then, successfully, to the California Assembly. Jane eventually spent some $2 million to purchase Tom's victory in the most expensive state legislative race in U. S. history. But first, there was the pilgrimage to Hanoi in 1972, during which Jane mounted a Vietnamese anti-aircraft gun.

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"The news clip was only a few seconds long," Collier writes, "but it fixed an image indelibly in the mind of the public in a way none of her movies had been able to do. It became her classic film moment, Jane's equivalent of her father's Tom Joad and her brother's Captain America. She had finally found the enduring role for which she would always be remembered: Hanoi Jane." The photo section includes the classic shot of Jane in her most revealing pose.

BUT THE radicalism was really a veneer. The actual center of her life was Tom. His ideas, positions, and values would be hers, just as Vadim's and the others had been before him. Jane comes off repeatedly as mainly an actor playing a role, often doing little more than mouthing lines or striking poses. When China invaded Vietnam, she turned to Tom and said: "Big stuff, huh? So what's our position?" When *Coming Home* lost the Oscar for best picture to *The Deer Hunter*, Jane lashed out reflexively, calling the winning film "a racist, Pentagon version of the war," but then admitted she hadn't seen it. Jane and Tom named their first child, Troi, after Nguyen Van Troi, a member of the Viet Cong who tried to kill U. S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. And they followed the final communist drive against Saigon "on a large map filled with push pins and inked-in lines to indicate troop movements."

How much did it all mean? Collier relates an instructive anecdote from the more recent past: "A person who sat near Jane and Ted Turner at a private dinner party in New York heard Turner ask Fonda about her Hanoi Jane period. Jane held him for a moment with her dazzling eyes and then smiled slyly: 'You don't think I really meant all that, do you?'"

This is the same Jane Fonda, Hollywood businessperson and aerobics instructor-in-chief, who once snapped (around the time she made *9 to 5*) that "no secretary is worth more than $200 a week" and found her female employees charging her with sexism for paying them less than the men. Although she claims she was "blacklisted from 1970 to 1975 in the same way as the Jews were blacklisted during the McCarthy period," her career thrived and her bank accounts soared to new heights. Collier notes that Jane was careful never to trash Hollywood. This recalls Richard Grenier's quip that the Hollywood left is all for the elimination of capitalism — except for their own lucrative three-picture deal with Paramount. They are loyal to "the industry."

Turner asked about her Hanoi Jane period. Jane smiled slyly: 'You don't think I really meant all that, do you?'

Like other members of the film colony, Jane Fonda confused having money and fame with having something to say. Just how much of her fortune has trickled down to the masses is not certain.

Eventually, as Hayden began to realize his career as an office holder was unlikely to take him much higher than state Assembly, the Fonda-Hayden family began to come apart. "Their closeness," writes Collier, "had always been based on shared vision rather than deep emotion." First there had been Vietnam, then the other causes, and finally, the cause of electing Hayden to some high office. But "once the vision fell out of focus, they began to lose contact."

As Hayden grew more distant, he took to "taunting her about how beautiful other actresses they knew were; how good they looked." Jane's response was to have her wrinkles removed surgically and, in 1988, to have breast implants — this by a woman who once wept when Hayden showed her slides of a billboard in Saigon showing an Asian woman in a Playboy Bunny pose and advertising the services of a plastic surgeon whose specialty was making Asian women's eyes more round and enlarging their breasts to an American woman's size. This, to please leering GIs, Jane could see, was dehumanizing; but to please Tom, Jane was willing to be dehumanized herself.

Jane's close friend Lauren Weissman recalled that, "Jane said she was afraid of losing Tom. Actually she felt she was losing herself . . . . For the last few years, she'd believed that the sum of all the causes she'd adopted would make a person. But with the relationship with Tom beginning to come apart, she saw this wasn't true."

NOW SHE'S moved on to another new life, no longer the sex star of the Roger Vadim days, no longer the radical, but now . . . what? Perhaps the role for Turner is still being invented. And it's not, of course, as though all that left-wing activism meant nothing at all. As she said later, her political activity made her feel "whole." Too bad, though, for all those poor Southeast Asians who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time when Jane decided to try to find herself in that particular role. CPR

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Flies in Amber

(Continued from page 13)

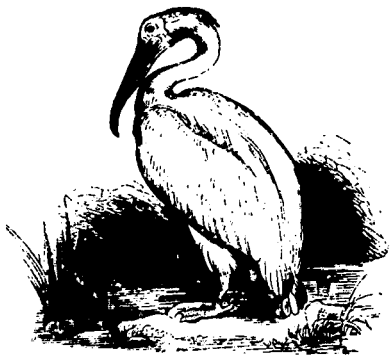
hibits a patronizing attitude on the part of elites that sends a clear message to minorities that they really are inferior. If internalized, this message locks minorities into a cage of low expectations and racial stereotypes from which they may never escape.

WAR, IT is said, is too important to be left to the generals. Similarly, education is too important to be left strictly to the educators and the politicians. It is thus appropriate, in fact essential, that the public demand a full scale debate on these policies rather than permit them to creep into the fabric of the system before anyone is aware of what is taking place. After all, it is our tax money that supports public higher education in California, our children who benefit from its service, and the well-being and competitiveness of our society and economy that are at stake if our colleges and universities decline even further to the benefit of our overseas competitors. Here are some of the things the public can do:

1) Urge the trustees of the California State System and the Regents of the University of California to put these issues on their agendas for careful scrutiny and open public debate.

2) Bring pressure on legislators to examine bills on higher education carefully and to vote against the kind of legislation that Tom Hayden, Willie Brown, and their allies will introduce in Sacramento. Then support those legislators who oppose such bills. Without clear support from the public, even those assemblymen and senators who know better will see no future in bucking the current trend.

3) Be aware of those double standards in admissions policies already in place and let administrators know that higher education is by nature selective, and that merit, not race and ethnicity, are the only



permissible criteria for student admission. Also remind them that the 1964 Civil Rights Act still expressly forbids discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, or gender. Administrators are already very much aware of the contradictions in their newly-constructed quota systems and are sensitive to the possibility of legal action.

IF THE public knew what is going on in higher education, revisionists would stand little chance of converting the university into an instrument for advancing their utopian, unworkable schemes. Public involvement would also strengthen the resolve of faculty members intimidated by strictures of political correctness, and it would send a clear signal to administrators that their actions are open to review not only from the political and cultural left, but also from the people university authorities have been appointed to serve. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 2)

the propositions dealing with expenditures and new taxes (even on alcohol). With the "greying" of the voters, nothing short of a revolution will change this attitude of Californians. As the gap between the haves (the vast majority of the voters) and the have-nots continues to grow, we can expect the number of homeless, welfare recipients, drug addicts, and criminals to increase drastically. The majority of five-year-old minority children are doomed to a poor education today and are 2000's social problems. California's cities are not far behind the disintegrating life style (for rich and poor) of New York City. In addition, we are not preparing students for the complex, high-tech jobs of the future.

Prop. 140 is the election's most interesting result. It showed the utter distrust of elected officials. Nevertheless, it must be put in perspective. On one side, special interest groups have had no problem getting their legislation through Sacramento or "deep-sixing" bills they didn't like. An example is the defense lawyers' and ACLU's stranglehold on judicial reform. On the other side, the Legislature and the governor are stifled in major reform efforts by voter antipathy to higher taxes. Also, Sacramento will lose its ablest people (hopefully they will remain as lobbyists or run again for office). Further, special interest groups may have more control than now by electing their own candidates and/or influencing amateur legislators. Sacramento may also become staff driven. In any event, I came down on the pro side of Prop. 140.

The defeat of Prop. 128 (Big Green) was a positive note. The limousine liberals who control the environmental issues have little concern for the poor. Air quality policy, for example, has pushed jobs out of the state and discouraged business and jobs from coming into the state.

The most positive note was the election of Pete Wilson as governor. Despite his low-key personality, Pete is an extremely hard-working, visionary leader. I agree with Pete that budgets are best

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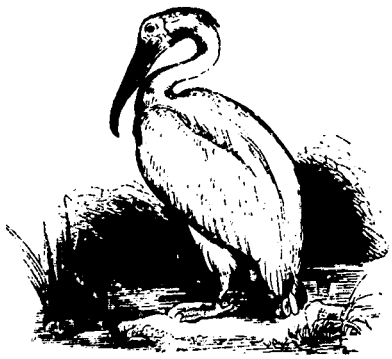

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Affirmative Action

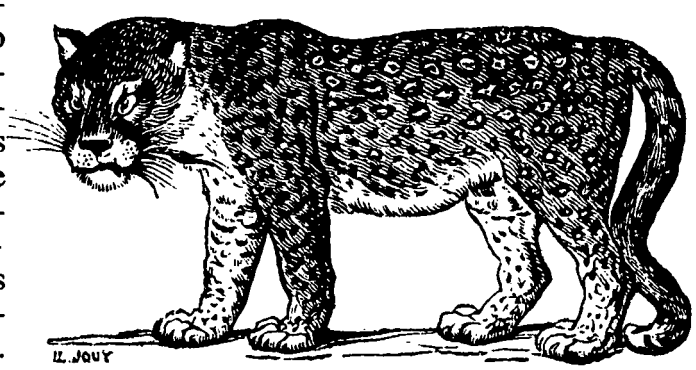
(Continued from page 17)

spot for the Buddhists. In 1960, the government took control of 2,623 private schools "to ensure equality of educational opportunity to all children regardless of race, religion, economic condition or social status" and to provide an education "which is national in its scope, aims, and objects and in conformity with the cultural, religious, and economic aspirations of the people." In order to complete the changeover of the federal bureaucracy to the Sinhalese language, the government in 1963 began sending Sinhalese government employees to staff their offices in the northern Tamil region and in 1964 began compulsory retirement of those Tamil civil servants who could not speak Sinhalese. When one of these Tamil civil servants appealed beyond Sri Lanka's Supreme Court to the Privy Council in London, the Sri Lankan government abolished the right of appeal to the Privy Council. A section of the constitution guaranteeing minority rights was also eliminated in a new constitution.

Polarization worked both ways. As anti-Tamil policies and actions accumulated, as attempts at reason and compromise failed, the moderate Tamil Congress party was superseded by the more militant Federal party, which in 1973 merged with other Tamil groups to form The United Tamil Liberation Front. As attempts to obtain equal treatment at the federal level failed, Tamil demands shifted to more regional autonomy and, finally, Tamil extremists called for a separate nation. When appeals and civil disobedience campaigns failed, armed guerrilla warfare began. But, before things reached that extreme, one final anti-Tamil policy was to drive a generation to desperation. This was a cutback in the number of Tamils allowed to continue on to higher education.

As late as the academic year 1969-70, Tamils constituted 48 percent of all students in engineering and 49 percent in medicine. Overall, Tamils were only 16 percent of university students — only a modest over-representation compared to the "Ceylon Tamil" percentage in the population. But, as in other countries, the internal distribution of students among fields of study was drastically different between groups, the Sinhalese being heavily concentrated in the liberal arts and the Tamils in the sciences.

THE LONG-STANDING practice of having students take entrance examinations in English helped conceal the ethnic identity of the individual student, reducing the dangers of favoritism by the examiners. After the controversial new language policies were instituted, however, students began taking examinations in either Sinhalese or Tamil, just as more secondary



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Richard J. Riordan
Los Angeles

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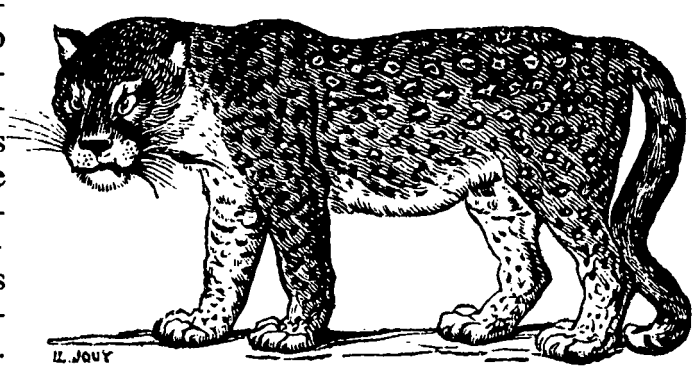

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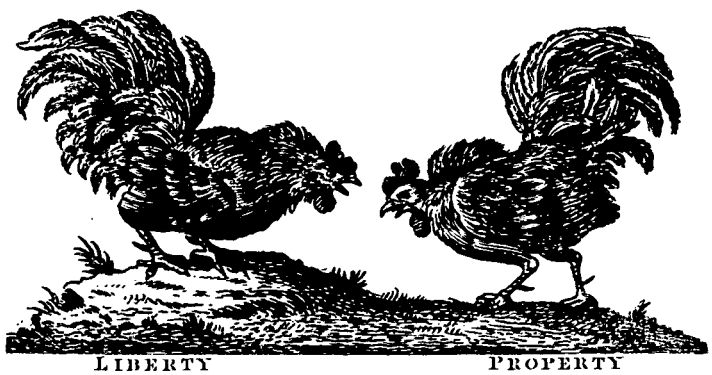
schools began teaching in these languages. With ethnic identity now apparent from the language in which university entrance examinations were taken, the way was open for political allegations that Tamil examiners gave higher grades to Tamil students. Despite an investigation that produced no evidence of this, a new policy for "standardization" of examination scores arbitrarily down-graded Tamil scores to enable more Sinhalese students to gain university admission. Protests by university academics of various ethnic backgrounds were ignored. Tamil over-representation declined somewhat but not enough to satisfy the government. New "standardization" procedures were instituted in 1973 on a number of grounds, including compensating for historic differences in science facilities in different regions. In 1974, district quotas were instituted, thereby drastically restricting Tamil admissions in the sciences. Once again, protests by university dons were unavailing. Total Tamil enrollment was not cut as drastically, but the sciences leading to independent professions were now especially crucial, with government employment — a principal outlet for liberal arts graduates — increasingly closed to Tamils and other opportunities still largely lacking in the Tamil regions of the country. University quotas meant, essentially, shutting the door in the face of the younger generation of Tamils.

AT ABOUT this time, youthful guerrilla movements began in the Tamil regions, committing robberies, arson, assassinations and other acts of violence. The biggest and most prominent of these were the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam, who demanded a separate and independent nation. Guerrilla bases developed in the nearby Tamil areas of India. Once set in motion, these events also acquired a life of their own. Rival guerrilla groups fought each other and terrorized other Tamils. When Sri Lankan army units — overwhelmingly Sinhalese — were sent into Tamil regions to restore order and were ambushed by guerrillas, they sometimes lashed back with indiscriminate attacks on Tamil civilians. For example, *The New York Times* of August 7, 1983, reported: "Sri Lankan Army troops pulled 20 civilians off a bus and executed them two weeks ago in retaliation for a Tamil guerrilla attack that killed 13 soldiers a government spokesman confirmed today." Nor was this an isolated episode. A year later *The Economist* of London reported, "random acts of revenge by soldiers or riot policemen continue."



MEANWHILE, TAMILS living in Sinhalese regions were in jeopardy when race riots broke out there. Because nearly half the Tamil population lived in areas where the Sinhalese were a majority, this became a major hazard as race riots became more frequent and more lethal. In the 1977 riots, an estimated 150 people were killed and 20,000 made homeless. New outbreaks in 1981 were only a prelude to still worse riots in 1983. Both the 1981 and the 1983 race riots bore the mark of deliberately organized activity by Sinhalese gangs and indifference or complicity by the police and the military — another retrogression compared to their role in the earlier riots of 1958. Sri Lankan President Junius Jayawardene, who shifted position on intergroup issues over the years, declared after the 1981 riots: "I regret that some members of my party have spoken in Parliament and outside words that encourage violence and the murders, rapes, and arson that have been committed."

The 1983 riots eclipsed all the previous ones. The official government estimate was 350 dead in the capital city of Colombo alone, but estimates from Tamil sources approached 2,000. Estimates of refugees in Colombo refugee camps alone ranged from 80,000 to 100,000.

Indiscriminate killings of Tamils by the military in the north and by Sinhalese mobs in the south of Sri Lanka were not viewed with indifference in India, with a population of 50 million Tamils and only 25 miles away across the water. By 1985, India had 40,000 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka. Finally, in August 1987, India landed 50,000 troops in the northern Tamil region to take over the maintenance of order from the Sri Lankan army and police forces, and to disarm the Tamil guerrillas. Although this action restored calm and was welcomed by the Tamil population, the political backlash was savage from both Sinhalese and Tamil who acquired a vested interest in continued polarization.

Tamil guerrillas protested and resisted being disarmed

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Pact Man

(Continued from page 19)

reinforced their treaty by signing the Soviet-German Trade Agreement, under which the USSR agreed to provide agricultural products and raw materials to Germany. The two powers also collaborated in more sinister ways. For example, Stalin handed over a number of German-Jewish communists to the Gestapo. Such behavior gave the lie to the notion that Stalin used the Pact solely to bide time and build up his defenses.

By April of 1940, Hitler had bitten off great chunks of Europe and was poised to swallow France. Yet Stalin was still blaming England and France for starting the war. American Party leader Earl Browder, a favorite in Hollywood, charged that Britain, not Germany, was responsible for the invasion of Poland, Belgium, and Holland. The Party continued to defend the Pact and, as Granville Hicks put it, "offered anything that came into their heads" as proof. "If Party leaders could not defend the Soviet Union intelligently," Hicks added, "then they would defend it stupidly."

On April 6, 1940, the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, in conjunction with the Hollywood Peace Council, held a meeting at the Olympic Auditorium called "America Declares Peace." Dalton Trumbo, Frank Tuttle, Herb Biberman, and others ignored the Nazi onslaught and assailed Roosevelt as a "warmonger." Biberman was on the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization and honorary chairman of its Los Angeles branch.

When screenwriter Rupert Hughes attacked Hitler at a forum on the war at UCLA in April of 1940, the largely communist audience hissed and booed him. Herb Biberman then charged Hughes with being a "bloody-minded degenerate trying to get the blood of American boys spilled on foreign soil."

THE HOLLYWOOD group also lent their support to a strike at North American Aviation led by Jeff Kibre, a communist colleague of Harry Bridges. When Roosevelt sent in troops, the League of American Writers, once head by Dashiell Hammett, sent a telegram in protest. It was signed by, among others, John Howard Lawson and Donald Ogden Stewart, the writer of *The Prisoner of Zenda* and *The Philadelphia Story*.

It was also during the Pact that a musical, *Meet the People*, originated in Hollywood and made the move to Broadway. The story began with Sleeping Beauty dreaming peacefully while war and starvation surrounded her. She is then jabbed awake with a pin and given a decidedly leftist perspective of the "real" world. There had originally been a scene of Hitler and Stalin dancing together, like something out of Mel Brooks' *The Producers*. According to Nancy Schwartz, Party overseers ordered the scene cut.

LIBERALS OF the time held no doubts about the meaning of such actions. ACLU founder Roger Baldwin went so far as to say "a Communist was no longer just a Communist after the Pact. A Communist was an agent of the Soviet Union." And as Philip Dunne noted, when Hollywood's Old Left proclaimed that "what had been *morally* right yesterday was *morally* wrong today" and that "the Hitler who continued on his aggressive course, who continued to slaughter Jews and non-conformists," was "no longer the enemy," they revealed themselves as "either totally cynical, or totally incapable of independent thought." In other words, they were servile Stalinists, not misguided idealists.

But this is not the version held by Hollywood's current cabbage-patch left. Dunne notes with some alarm that Trumbo, Biberman and the others have been "virtually deified." To put it in cinematic terms, Hollywood's Old Left has been successfully "colorized." The original uncut version in black and white, long suppressed, still awaits a full release. CPR

— a process that cost the Indian army more than 400 lives in the first year. The Sinhalese backlash went beyond reduced political support for the ruling party of President Jayawardene, whose accord with India ratified the troop landing that Sri Lanka could not have prevented in any case. Sinhalese terrorists began their own guerrilla warfare against the government, killing more than 200 supporters of the accord and narrowly missing an assassination attempt on Jayawardene himself.

How effective have the preferential policies in Sri Lanka been? By 1973, the average educational and income levels of the Sinhalese overtook those of the Ceylon Tamils and, of course, greatly exceeded those of the Indian Tamils. Those policies "worked" — but at a high price. Sri Lanka has become almost a textbook example of how even unusually amicable relations between two groups can, within one generation, be turned into implacable hostility, violence, and ultimately civil war, simply by the politicization of race and ethnicity. CPR

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Pact Man

(Continued from page 19)

reinforced their treaty by signing the Soviet-German Trade Agreement, under which the USSR agreed to provide agricultural products and raw materials to Germany. The two powers also collaborated in more sinister ways. For example, Stalin handed over a number of German-Jewish communists to the Gestapo. Such behavior gave the lie to the notion that Stalin used the Pact solely to bide time and build up his defenses.

By April of 1940, Hitler had bitten off great chunks of Europe and was poised to swallow France. Yet Stalin was still blaming England and France for starting the war. American Party leader Earl Browder, a favorite in Hollywood, charged that Britain, not Germany, was responsible for the invasion of Poland, Belgium, and Holland. The Party continued to defend the Pact and, as Granville Hicks put it, "offered anything that came into their heads" as proof. "If Party leaders could not defend the Soviet Union intelligently," Hicks added, "then they would defend it stupidly."

On April 6, 1940, the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, in conjunction with the Hollywood Peace Council, held a meeting at the Olympic Auditorium called "America Declares Peace." Dalton Trumbo, Frank Tuttle, Herb Biberman, and others ignored the Nazi onslaught and assailed Roosevelt as a "warmonger." Biberman was on the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization and honorary chairman of its Los Angeles branch.

When screenwriter Rupert Hughes attacked Hitler at a forum on the war at UCLA in April of 1940, the largely communist audience hissed and booed him. Herb Biberman then charged Hughes with being a "bloody-minded degenerate trying to get the blood of American boys spilled on foreign soil."

THE HOLLYWOOD group also lent their support to a strike at North American Aviation led by Jeff Kibre, a communist colleague of Harry Bridges. When Roosevelt sent in troops, the League of American Writers, once head by Dashiell Hammett, sent a telegram in protest. It was signed by, among others, John Howard Lawson and Donald Ogden Stewart, the writer of *The Prisoner of Zenda* and *The Philadelphia Story*.

It was also during the Pact that a musical, *Meet the People*, originated in Hollywood and made the move to Broadway. The story began with Sleeping Beauty dreaming peacefully while war and starvation surrounded her. She is then jabbed awake with a pin and given a decidedly leftist perspective of the "real" world. There had originally been a scene of Hitler and Stalin dancing together, like something out of Mel Brooks' *The Producers*. According to Nancy Schwartz, Party overseers ordered the scene cut.

LIBERALS OF the time held no doubts about the meaning of such actions. ACLU founder Roger Baldwin went so far as to say "a Communist was no longer just a Communist after the Pact. A Communist was an agent of the Soviet Union." And as Philip Dunne noted, when Hollywood's Old Left proclaimed that "what had been *morally* right yesterday was *morally* wrong today" and that "the Hitler who continued on his aggressive course, who continued to slaughter Jews and non-conformists," was "no longer the enemy," they revealed themselves as "either totally cynical, or totally incapable of independent thought." In other words, they were servile Stalinists, not misguided idealists.

But this is not the version held by Hollywood's current cabbage-patch left. Dunne notes with some alarm that Trumbo, Biberman and the others have been "virtually deified." To put it in cinematic terms, Hollywood's Old Left has been successfully "colorized." The original uncut version in black and white, long suppressed, still awaits a full release. CPR

— a process that cost the Indian army more than 400 lives in the first year. The Sinhalese backlash went beyond reduced political support for the ruling party of President Jayawardene, whose accord with India ratified the troop landing that Sri Lanka could not have prevented in any case. Sinhalese terrorists began their own guerrilla warfare against the government, killing more than 200 supporters of the accord and narrowly missing an assassination attempt on Jayawardene himself.

How effective have the preferential policies in Sri Lanka been? By 1973, the average educational and income levels of the Sinhalese overtook those of the Ceylon Tamils and, of course, greatly exceeded those of the Indian Tamils. Those policies "worked" — but at a high price. Sri Lanka has become almost a textbook example of how even unusually amicable relations between two groups can, within one generation, be turned into implacable hostility, violence, and ultimately civil war, simply by the politicization of race and ethnicity. CPR

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Worth Repeating

The "Peace" Movement

by David Horowitz

TO CALL the current anti-American mobilizations by veterans of the discredited left a "peace" movement is really but one more surrender — in a long regrettable line of such surrenders — in the Orwellian battle over our moral vocabulary .... America is the source of the world's crises and problems. This is the core vision of the left. It was also, of course, the fundamental axiom of the father of contemporary "anti-war" movements, the one that led to the victory in Indochina of Pol Pot — and the Vietcong. Here is how one Santa Cruz student, active in the current "Coalition Against US Intervention in the Middle East" put it:

> Obviously, this current anti-war movement takes inspiration from its Vietnam predecessor. Siphoned through 20 years of anti-Vietnam sentiments, my generation enters its movement more cynically than our counterparts of the '60s....

More cynically indeed. For what did those "anti-Vietnam sentiments" accomplish, judged by the passage of those 20 years? A Communist sponsored genocide in Indochina that extinguished nearly two million lives and obliterated a national culture. A decade and a half of Communist oppression in South Vietnam that has killed more than half-a-million civilians, created nearly one and a half million refugees (unprecedented in Vietnam's thousand year history of foreign and domestic tyrannies) and made Communist Vietnam one of the poorest, most repressive and — let us not forget — militaristic states on the face of the earth.

THIS IS the real agenda of today's anti-war radicals: to reprise the Vietnam experience of the 1960s in the 1990s. In fact, they can hardly wait to repeat it. "Right now our movement is not as big as Vietnam was, . . . " one student organizer breathlessly told a campus recruit, "[but] I think that as soon as a shooting war starts this will be even bigger than Vietnam." *Bigger than Vietnam.* This is what every radical for 30 years has dreamed of: An opportunity that will trigger an explosion of the left bigger than the '60s itself.

And what is this left? It is no longer a left that pledges its allegiance to Soviet power and worships at the altar of the Soviet state — though it was that. It is no longer a left that justifies Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe as a revolutionary beach-head of "peoples' democracies" — though it was that. It is no longer a left that celebrates Chinese Communism as a new dawn in humanity's long march into the future, or Cuba's gulag as a beacon of Latin American liberation — though it was (and for some may still be) that.

It is a left that has been disoriented at the repudiation of its socialist paradise by hundreds of millions of former inhabitants. But it is also a left that has not for a single moment put down its weapons in the permanent war it has been waging, since 1917, against the capitalist democracies of the West, and in particular the United States. Earlier this year, Daniel Singer — the radical *Nation*'s authority on Eastern Europe, lectured leftists as to how they should react to the rejection of socialism by East Europeans liberating themselves from the Soviet yoke:

> Our problem is not to convince the Eastern Europeans that they can change regimes by Fabian [socialist] methods . . . Our duty, rather, is to go to the heart of the matter and to the fortress of advanced capitalism, . . . In other words, our task is to spread the conviction that a radical change of society in all its aspects is on our own historical agenda.

In other words, damn the disasters our crusades have created in the East, full speed ahead with our plans for destroying the capitalist democracies of the West.

WE SEE this destructive left active today in America's universities, striving to discredit the very culture that created American democracy, attempting to smear America's heritage as the imperialist, patriarchal, racist construct of "dead white European males." This left is present in a vast array of "issue oriented" political organizations and inside the Democratic Party itself, promoting race and gender driven legislation that will Balkanize America into a crazy quilt of culturally exclusive, politically hostile, and socially aggrieved enthnicities. It seeks to identify and privilege Americans by skin color, gender, and other physical or racial attributes — in short, to turn America into a new South Africa. Finally, this left is in the streets, mobilized to oppose America's own right of self-determination and self-defense in an ongoing, relentless assault on America's military and intelligence communities which it maliciously portrays as the tentacles of a sinister "national security state."

In sum, what the left has become — now that its fantasy of a socialist future has been exploded all over the world — is this: a nihilistic force whose goal is to deconstruct and dismantle America as a democracy and as a nation. CPR

Excerpted from remarks by David Horowitz, co-author of Destructive Generation, *to a conference of the Law and National Security Committee of the American Bar Association, Washington, D.C., January 31, 1991.*

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Congress Is Out of Control!

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Not since the heyday of liberalism in the '60s and '70s has the United States been faced with a Congress so committed to the destructive course set by the radical left.

Unfortunately, as the recent budget fight showed, President Bush seems unable — or in many cases unwilling — to use the power of his office to stop them.

And this new liberal-left onslaught —strengthened by the November elections — may ultimately be the most damaging to our country yet. Let's look at just a few examples:

- The Budget/Deficit "Reduction" Act which imposes the biggest tax hike in history, allows spending to increase enormously and will, in fact, create a larger budget deficit next year — facts the national media conveniently obscured.
- The Americans With Disabilities Act, which created huge new classes of "disabled" people (including but not limited to: drug addicts; AIDS patients; drunks; psychotics; and maybe even transvestites) and will force employers to hire them no matter what the problem or cost.
- The outrageously expensive Clean Air Act, which will impose untold expense—conservative estimates run upwards of $100 billion—and will cost tens of thousands of jobs, yet will yield little improvement in our environment for the price.
- The New Child Care Act, which will create huge new federal bureaucracies and generate massive new regulations to solve a problem best left to individual families.
- The Ted Kennedy-sponsored "Civil Rights Act of 1990," which tried to reimpose a "quota" system in hiring, pushing us even farther away from President Reagan's dream of a "color-blind" society.
- Massive new mandated health and maternity benefit programs that will cost businesses — and, eventually, consumers — billions and may actually result in much poorer health insurance covering many workers who may not want or need it.
- Budget *increases* for the National Endowment for the Arts. Even as American taxpayers are outraged by the blasphemy and pornography sponsored by the Endowment, their budget was increased — allowing the NEA to fund even more outrageous "art."

And to top it all off, under huge pressure from the media and the liberals in Congress — and unfortunately from many within his own Administration— President Bush has now broken his pledge of "No new taxes."

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